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A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE WAR

By

FREDERIC DUNCALF

Professor of Medieval History



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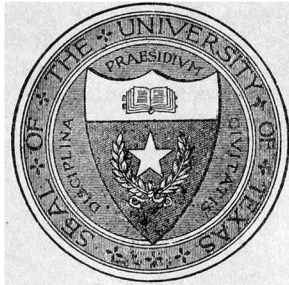
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The benefits of education and of useful knowledge, generally diffused through a community, are essential to the preservation of a free government.

Sam Houston

Cultivated mind is the guardian genius of democracy. . . . It is the only dictator that freemen acknowledge and the only security that freemen desire.

Mirabeau B. Lamar

A Brief History of the War

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PREFACE

This bulletin makes no pretense of being either a thorough or a final treatment of the war. Its purpose is merely to gather in concise form the more significant phases of the war, so that these may be taught in the schools of Texas.

A heavy responsibility rests upon all teachers in our present crisis, for their instruction will have great influence upon the opinions of their pupils. Amid the bitterness and hatred that war develops, it becomes increasingly necessary for as many people as possible to keep clearly in mind the main issues of this conflict. Disloyalty and intrigue are abroad, and Americans should one and all so understand our part in this war that no doubt or faintheartedness can turn us aside from what we have undertaken to do.

The teacher is advised to use Harding's *Topical Outline of the War*, which has been extensively drawn upon in the preparation of this bulletin. A vast amount of concise information is contained in the *War Cyclopedia*, published by the Committee on Public Information, Washington, D. C. (price 25 cents). A description of other publications issued by this committee may be found in the *History Teachers' Bulletin*, November 15, 1917. The *History Teachers' Magazine* is publishing much material of great value for the teaching of the war.

F. D.

A Brief History of the War

CHAPTER I

CONDITIONS AT THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR

America

The great war which began in the last days of July and the first days of August, 1914, surprised the people of America as a thunderbolt from a clear sky. As a people we had been too completely absorbed in the settlement and development of our own rich country to be interested in the affairs of European peoples. In 1914 we began to educate ourselves in European history and world politics. As long as possible we tried to persuade ourselves that American interests were not involved, but as we saw more and more clearly the great issues at stake, realization came to us that the very principles upon which our country was founded were to live or perish on the battlefields of Europe. We discovered that the liberal, democratic peoples of Europe were fighting autocratic, reactionary states. When the Russian revolution overthrew the one despotic government on the allied side, the great significance of the war became still more evident. We rallied to our President's slogan: "The world must be made safe for democracy." American boys are dying in the trenches of France; surely every girl and boy must learn what they are fighting for.

Perhaps if history had been differently taught in our schools, the American people would have been prepared to decide that this was our war more quickly, and the war might be much nearer the end. The lesson which we can draw from such costly delay is to teach a new history in the future. The American citizen must no longer be as ignorant of world affairs as he has been in the past. He must be prepared to realize the part which America is now called to play in the world. The policy of a democratic nation will depend upon the understanding of its people.

The Rivalry of European Nations

We can now see that a European war had long been threat-

ening. The competition of great nations had led to such an intense rivalry for prestige and material gain that only a spark was needed to light the conflagration which burst forth in 1914. The United States is fortunately situated. No dangerous neighbors surround us. In Europe, smaller countries with larger populations border upon each other. The conflicting interests of these peoples and the desire to acquire more territory because of rapidly increasing populations confined in these boundaries are causes for rivalry which have never been experienced in America. Add to this the intense competition for markets and colonies, and you will understand why Europe has known wars in the past; why the preservation of peace has always been difficult.

To prevent any nation from becoming so strong that it would control all Europe, an effort has been made to preserve a *balance of power*. Thus if one group of nations forms an alliance, other nations form an agreement to prevent the first group from becoming too powerful. In 1914 such an arrangement failed to prevent war, because Germany and Austria believed that their preparation and central position made them strong enough to upset the balance of power in Europe. To understand why Germany was anxious to do this, we must consider German policy and why warlike ambitions developed in the minds of the German people.

Prussia

Throughout the Middle Ages and during most of the Modern period, Germany failed to attain a sense of national unity, or to develop a national government. Compared with France and England, Germany has been backward in her political growth. The German people have produced a great literature, they have made the world indebted to them for their music, their science and scholarship, but they have never learned to govern themselves. Had they been left to themselves, they might have profited by the liberal movement that swept over Europe during the past century, but the present system of government came to Germany from Prussia, and this state has always been autocratic.

Early in the fifteenth century the Hohenzollern family began

to rule Brandenburg. In 1068 the duchy of Prussia, which had been conquered from the Slavs by the Crusading order of Teutonic Knights, was added to the possessions of the Elector of Brandenburg. This territory was the nucleus of the later kingdom of Prussia, and was not nearly as fertile or rich in resources as the rest of Germany, while its inhabitants were less civilized than the South Germans. Notwithstanding this backwardness of their people, the Hohenzollerns pursued a consistent policy of developing their heritage, until they made it into the strongest power in all Germany.

The Great Elector (1640-1688) made his power practically absolute. He created the foundations of a military state. Every phase of activity was directed toward the support of the army, which was large in proportion to the population. He induced outsiders to colonize his lands, and encouraged the development of agriculture and industry. Frederick the Great inherited a concentrated, well organized state in 1740, and during his reign greatly increased his territory by taking Silesia from Austria, and acquiring West Prussia by the First Partition of Poland. This expansion was made possible by the organization of all the resources of the state in such a way as to increase its military strength.

Such was the legacy which the early Hohenzollerns left to their successors, who have never failed to pursue the same policy of expansion by means of war. During the Napoleonic period, the old military system of Prussia broke down. The whole state had always been organized in such a way as to maintain a large standing army, but in the early days of last century the old army gave place to the system that is in use today, namely, universal military training, which means a nation in arms. This plan made Prussia one of the strongest states in all Europe.

About the middle of the nineteenth century liberal ideas began to spread throughout Germany. Rulers in South Germany granted constitutions to their subjects. In 1848 a convention met at Frankfort to draw up a constitution for all Germany. The position of Emperor was offered to Frederick William IV of Prussia, but he refused to accept this offer from liberals. However, even the people of Prussia demanded a constitution and

he granted them one, although he was very careful to arrange its provisions in such a way that his own power was not impaired. Thus Germany was making an effort to obtain some measure of self-government and had shown a certain desire for unity. Prussian statesmen willed that this unity should come through Prussian leadership, and with the smallest possible concession to liberalism.

In 1864 Austria and Prussia defeated the Danish army, and took from Denmark the provinces of Schleswig-Holstein. In 1866 Prussia declared war on Austria and quickly overwhelmed her by her superior military organization, thus destroying the traditional Austrian leadership in Germany. The North German Federation was then formed, which gave Prussia still greater influence in Germany, and was a great step toward unity, but Germany was not united. In the Franco-German war, France was as completely defeated as Austria had been. This war, in 1870-71, gave all Germany an opportunity to fight against a common enemy, and in the spirit that was born in this struggle, the German nation found itself. The result was the creation of the German Empire of today.

Bismarck has been greatly praised for this achievement. Throughout her entire history, Germany had suffered greatly from lack of unity. Today she is a strong national state. However, it is well to ask whether or not Germany might not have achieved unity without Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron"? If Germany had united in a slower but more natural way, might she not be more liberal and democratic today? Prussian guidance has made Germany great and prosperous; has it not prevented the German people from acquiring something more important—the responsibility of governing themselves?

The German Constitution

The German Empire is made up of the different states which were independent in 1871, each having its separate government. The laws for the Empire are made by a legislative body, composed of two houses, the *Bundesrat* and the *Reichstag*. The former consists of delegates appointed by the rulers of the 25 states that compose the Empire. The total number of delegates

is 61. Unlike the United States Senate, the delegations from the separate states are not equal in number. Prussia has 17 delegates, to which must be added three from Alsace and Lorraine, which are appointed by the Emperor. Bavaria has 6, Saxony and Wurtemberg 4 each, and the other states, a smaller number each. In the United States Senate, each member votes as he pleases, but in the *Bundesrat* the delegates from each state vote as a unit and according to the instructions from the rulers who appoint them. Thus the Prussian delegates vote as the Emperor, or King of Prussia, dictates. The *Bundesrat* is in no sense a popular assembly, but represents strictly the rulers of the German states.

The *Reichstag* is the popular house. It contains 397 members elected for a five-year term. But unlike our lower house it is in no sense representative of the people, because in the first place the districts from which the members are chosen are no longer equal in population. Suppose that the congressional districts of the United States had not been changed for 46 years, and you will realize that some men would have less representation than others. In the second place, the votes of the people who have the most property count more than those of poor people.

Powers of Legislative Bodies

The action of public opinion is still more restricted by the limited powers conferred upon the *Reichstag*. All bills which do not originate in the *Bundesrat*, must be approved by it. Inasmuch as the *Bundesrat* in no sense represents the people, any bill from the more popular house can be vetoed by the princes, the Emperor himself controlling a third of the votes cast in this body. Furthermore, the constitution provides no way in which the people can improve their position if the princes are opposed to reform. The votes of Prussia can veto any constitutional amendment as only 14 votes are necessary for this purpose.

The Executive

The Emperor does not have a direct veto, but can dissolve

the legislature at will. He can declare a defensive war without the consent of the *Bundesrat*. In 1914 he declared war without its consent. He appoints the chancellor and all imperial officials, and all officers in the Prussian army. On the whole, the Emperor has great legal power, but the slight control over him which the *Reichstag* might have is still further weakened by the fact that there is no two party system as in this country. Several parties are always in existence, representing different interests, and this makes any united resistance to governmental policy almost impossible. By playing politics the government can increase its power. What does the Emperor think of his power? "Looking upon myself as the instrument of the Lord, regardless of the views and opinions of others, I go on my way." "Only one is master in this country. That is I. Who opposes me, I shall crush to pieces. All of you have only one will, and that is my will; there is only one law, and that is my law." There is no need to go further to show what Germany is ruled by an autocratic government. Any people who will tolerate such a statement from their executive is in no sense a free people.

Why Germany Has Not Become Democratic

Since the outburst of liberalism in the middle of last century the German people has made little effort to obtain further political rights. The only reason which can be given for this political apathy is that the Germans are satisfied with the government which they have. It must be remembered that Germany has suffered greatly from disunity. Germans have not learned the value of self-government as have the English and Americans. They have never had a great revolution as have the French. They have always been content to be governed. On the other hand, it must be remembered that Germany has been extremely well governed. Many of the functions of government are better performed there than in democratic countries. Americans can still learn much from the methods of administration that prevail in Germany. Furthermore, Germany has become very prosperous since the establishment of the Empire, and for this material well-being the German is very grateful to his rulers.

Germany has paid for all this lack of control over her rulers by being precipitated into a terrible war. Had that not happened, no other people would have wished to interfere with the government of the German people so long as they were satisfied. We now see that the German people, not knowing the value of political rights, have no respect for the rights of other peoples. They do not appreciate the fact that other peoples wish to govern themselves and have the right to do so. Prussian ideas have been forced on Germany, why should they not be forced on other peoples? Thus they have forced their rule upon the Poles and Alsace-Lorraine. By what right? Merely because they were strong enough to conquer them. Today they wish to force the world to accept their rule. Thus the Military Government of Germany, based upon the acceptance of such government by the German people, is responsible for the infliction of the horrors of war upon other nations. Today we know that the surest safeguard against war is the conversion of all peoples to democracy. The military autocracy which rules Germany must be destroyed, if the world is to have the assurance of future peace.

Germany's Demand for a "Place in the Sun"

Had the question of Germany's going to war been put to a vote, it is not improbable that the people would have voted for war. They have long been taught that they would derive great benefits from war. Furthermore, strange as it may seem to us, they believe that they wage a defensive war. They feel that they must break the "ring of iron" about them so that they may have room to expand. German population has been increasing rapidly, as has her commercial and industrial development. Hence, the Germans believe that colonies and more territory are essential to the future development of their nation. In order to break the bonds that restrict them, they think that any war upon their neighbors, no matter what might be its immediate cause, could be classed as a defensive war.

In a general sense, it is not difficult to understand this feeling. As our history shows, the American people have never ceased to expand. Our expansion has been across an unoccupied

continent. German expansion must come by the conquest of other civilized peoples, who must give up their territory that the German race may become greater. The English people have expanded into all parts of the world. Germany finds that there is no longer any part of the world open to colonization. She has entered the field too late. She can thank circumstances, and it may be noted that Bismarck did not favor German colonization. The German people think that they have a grievance because other peoples have got ahead of them. Does this justify their taking from other people what they have already settled, and made their own? Would Germany be justified in asking the United States to give up half of her territory that Germans might occupy it?

Some thirty million Germans have left their homes and settled in other countries. Thus Germany's surplus population has been relieved. The objection to this method of relief is that these emigrants cease to be Germans and refuse to support the greatness of the Empire. Germany desires all people of German descent to remain together and to be Germans always.

Germany claims a share of the trade of the world. She is jealous of the world trade of England. English free trade enables German manufacturers to undersell English manufacturers even in English markets. The excellence of her goods, and the cheapness of her labor, has enabled Germany to win much of the world's trade by free competition. Furthermore, by means of government subsidies German merchants have brought unfair competition into foreign markets. Why was it necessary for her to go to war to gain trade?

Germany had no justifiable reason for seeking to expand at the expense of the rights of other peoples. We can hardly sympathize with the statement of the Crown Prince: "It is only by relying on our good German sword that we can hope to conquer that place in the sun which rightly belongs to us, and which no one will ever yield to us voluntarily." The Germans have never explained to us just what this "place in the sun which rightly belongs" to them is. Whatever place the German people might win by peaceful means would never be denied them. Before the war they had gained the respect and ad-

miration of the world and had obtained markets for their goods. Why did they barter these away for the contempt and hatred of peoples who had been friendly to them? Germany's "place in the sun" means empire, power, domination of other peoples, which is to be obtained by military power.

The War Party

To convert the people of Germany to a belief in the necessity of war, a party arose in Germany which had the avowed purpose of spreading war propaganda. The *Pan-German League* was organized in 1890. Its object was to keep united the Germans who had left the Fatherland, and to prevent them from forgetting that they were Germans. As the League grew stronger, it came to urge a policy of expansion by means of war. The *Navy League* and the *Defense Association*, as well as other organizations, participated in a great campaign for a more active foreign policy. By such a campaign on the part of the military party, larger and larger appropriations were obtained for the army and navy bills, and the German people were induced to believe that the future of Germany depended upon her waging a world war.

Justification of War

Americans believe that war should only be resorted to when all other means have failed. War is destructive of national resources and destroys the best manhood of the peoples who engage in it. Sane people believe that war is a calamity. On the contrary, there are men in Germany who have long taught that war is a positive good. They apply Darwin's theory of the "survival of the fittest" to nations and say that only the strongest have the right to live. But they make war the only test of fitness, or at least all qualities which contribute to war. They say that continued peace makes a people soft and corrupt. Such a doctrine would make war the final test of civilization. The pursuits of peace would have no justification for existence except as they made a nation stronger for war. Bernhardt's doctrines read strangely to Americans. "War is an instrument of progress, a regulator in the life of humanity, an indispensable factor in civilization, a creative power."

From such a premise it is an easy step to a still more dangerous doctrine, namely, that might makes right. Suppose that there were no laws in Texas and no government to protect the rights of the individual citizen. The weak man would be at the mercy of the strong man. But the law says that the weak have the same right as the strong. Germany assumes that weaker nations have no rights. "Might gives the right to occupy or to conquer. Might is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war."—*Bernhardi*. Germany thus has no respect for international law. A treaty, which is an international contract, is merely a "scrap of paper."

The Mission of Germany to Spread German Kultur

Germany has a still more obnoxious doctrine. It is claimed that Germany possesses the purest of all races, since French, English, and Americans have come from a mixture of different peoples. Applying the biological theory that a pure race will produce the highest type of civilization, they came to the conclusion that the German civilization was superior to that of other races. Without any trace of moderation they asserted that this was so, and consequently it was the duty of the German people to carry their *Kultur* (civilization) to other peoples. This missionary undertaking was to be carried out by force. "We are the salt of the earth," said Kaiser William. "We feel ourselves to be the bearers of superior *Kultur*." "We have no doubt that a defeat of our people would retard the development of mankind," said a German pastor. "God has called us to civilize the world: we are the missionaries of human progress."—*Emperor William*. The world has learned what this superior *Kultur* is.

The German people came to believe in the necessity of war. Material prosperity, colonies, territory could be gained by the superior military qualities of the German race. War was noble, holy, heroic. The blessings of German civilization were to be carried to other peoples. From a nation infected with such ideas, the peace of the world was in serious danger.

The Growth of Large Armaments

Since the Franco-German war in 1870-71 Europe has become a great armed camp. Each nation has claimed that the maintenance of a great army was the surest means of preserving peace. Germany has maintained a standing army equal to one percent of her population. Her plan of universal military service further enables her to call out her entire able-bodied population if necessary. In 1886 France with a smaller population actually surpassed Germany in the race, but Germany was soon able to regain her lead. At the outbreak of the war Russia had some 5,900,000 trained men; Germany 4,000,000; France 3,800,000; Austria-Hungary, 4,300,000; Great Britain, 772,000 (including territorials or militia). The war has demonstrated that the German Military machine was superior, while that of Russia was inferior and easily broken. England had to create an entirely new army from civilians.

Likewise Germany entered a contest with Great Britain in navy building. English statesmen repeatedly sought to come to some agreement as to the rate of building, but Germany would not give up her plans of building a navy equal to England's. At the outbreak of the war, the German navy was second to that of Great Britain.

Efforts to Limit the Preparation for War

There were many who saw that such great armaments were more likely to bring war than to preserve peace. They believed that the taxpayers should be relieved of such heavy burdens. In 1898 the Tsar of Russia proposed a conference of the powers to see if there could not be some agreement among the nations for a reduction of the size of their armies and navies. The first Peace Congress met at The Hague in 1899. The second Congress met in 1907. The chief results were the drawing up of a set of rules to govern the conduct of civilized nations when at war and the establishment of a permanent court to which the nations of the world could refer their grievances for arbitration. However, the Conference failed to secure any agreement for the reduction of armaments, because Germany and Austria would not

consent. All nations who feared Germany had to continue to prepare for war.

The United States has concluded about 30 peace treaties with other nations. The plan of these treaties is that all disputes between the contracting parties shall be submitted to an International Commission, and that war shall not be declared until there has been investigation and a report submitted by this tribunal. The United States has been unable to conclude such a treaty with Germany. Consequently, the failure of the peace movement must be laid on Germany.

No final historical judgment can be pronounced upon this war for perhaps half a century. The archives of Europe contain many documents which will cause the modification of our present conclusions. However, there is enough information at hand to show that Germany was a warlike state. She was preparing for war and desired war. It remains to see what were her actions during the days in July, 1914, when Europe was trying to avert war.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WAR

The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871)

In order to understand why a quarrel between Austria and the small state of Serbia involved Russia and Germany, then France and England, and finally Italy, it is necessary to trace the main outline of European history since 1870.

In the Franco-German war, Germany completely defeated France because of the superiority of her military system. France had long been the disturbing factor in European affairs, and it was generally believed that the establishment of a strong state in Germany would be an effective check on future French aggression. However, Germany took advantage of her victory to humiliate France, and the latter country could not forget the injustice of the terms imposed by the conquerer. An indemnity of one billion dollars was demanded, and German troops were to occupy French territory until the last installment was paid. Alsace and Lorraine, which had been a part of France since the days of Louis XIV and Louis XV, were annexed to Germany.

During these troubles, amid civil war and general disorganization, a new government, the Third Republic, was created in France. France began to reconstruct herself. So anxious were the French people to rid their soil of the hated German soldiers that they paid off the last of the indemnity six months before the three-year period set by the treaty had expired. The last government loan was subscribed fourteen times over by the eager patriotism of the people. Thus, if the war resulted in the establishment of a new German Empire, it also brought a rebirth of the French nation.

Though France showed wonderful recuperative power in recovering from the disaster which had befallen her, she was unable to forget her lost provinces. In 1871 the representatives from these provinces in the national assembly said: "Our brothers of Alsace and Lorraine, now cut off from the common family,

will preserve their filial affection for the France now absent from their homes until the day when she returns to take her place there again." German methods of repression and military rule have not yet succeeded in making the population of these provinces German. For forty years and more, the wrong done to the people of these provinces has been a menace to the peace of Europe.

The Triple Alliance

In the hostility thus created between France and Germany we have one reason for the present alignment of the Powers of Europe. Bismarck felt the need of strengthening Germany against a possible effort on the part of France to recover Alsace and Lorraine. A friendly understanding was arranged between the three emperors of Germany, Austria, and Russia. This combination did not last long. Austria and Russia had conflicting interests in the Balkans. At the Congress of Berlin, 1878, Germany sided with Austria, who was then allowed to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Russia was deprived of the advantages gained in her war with Turkey. Russia was definitely isolated when Austria and Germany concluded a treaty in 1879, which provided that each should help the other if either were attacked by Russia. If either party was attacked by any state other than Russia, the other party was to remain neutral until Russia came in. In 1882, this dual alliance was made into a Triple Alliance by the inclusion of Italy. Irritated by the French colonial expansion in Africa, Italy wished the backing of Germany and Austria. This alliance of the three central powers lasted until the war broke out in 1914. However, previous to that time, Italy had become a lukewarm member, because she found that Austrian ambitions conflicted with her own. She also came to realize that her future was greatly affected by the control of the Mediterranean by the seapower of England and France. Consequently, she refused to join Austria and Germany in the war, because she claimed that by the terms of the alliance she was only bound to support her allies if they were attacked. On May 23, 1915, she declared war on Austria.

The Dual Alliance

This combination caused Russia and France to feel that they needed each other's support. Inasmuch as their needs did not conflict and they both feared Germany, they formed a Dual Alliance in 1891.

Change in English Policy

England was free from alliances. France and England had been traditionally unfriendly. England had fought France again and again to prevent her from dominating the continent of Europe. English statesmen had long feared Russia as a menace to British interests in the East. To prevent Russian expansion to the Mediterranean, England had long striven to maintain Turkish integrity, and had fought with France against Russia in the Crimean war. Russian expansion in central Asia brought her dangerously near to British India. That England should come to a friendly understanding with France and Russia seemed impossible, and yet this happened.

The Boer war taught England that she had no friends. On the continent and in America the war was condemned. She ended by giving the Boers everything that they had fought for except separate independence, and South African loyalty today is proof of the wisdom of her settlement. She further adopted a policy of removing whatever differences existed between herself and other countries. A long series of treaties with other nations indicates the peaceful character of British policy since the Boer war.

England also began to fear Germany. The determination of the German government to build a great navy was a challenge to British control of the seas. She felt that her navy must be the strongest in existence, or her scattered empire would be fatally endangered. In addition, German activities in the Balkans and the control that she came to exercise over Turkey made her more dangerous to British interests in the East than Russia has ever been.

The Anglo-French Entente (1904)

After the Franco-German war the French interested them-

selves in colonizing Northern Africa. Algeria had already been occupied in 1830. In 1881, a protectorate was established over Tunis. France and England had been jointly interested in Egypt, but in 1881 when England began a definite policy of regulating the finances of this country and establishing order, France declined to be a party to such occupation.

In 1904, France and England came to a friendly understanding (*Entente Cordiale*), which settled all differences between the two countries. It was agreed that England was to control the Suez canal and Egypt, necessary to her as the shortest route to India. On the other hand, France was to have a free hand in the development of her colonial policy in Western Africa, particularly in Morocco.

In 1907, England and Russia came to an understanding about their differences. Persia was divided into a British and Russian sphere of influence, which was a check to further German penetration of Asia. This completed the Triple Entente, but it must be remembered that England's connection with either France or Russia was in no sense a defensive alliance. As the negotiations before the war indicate, England was not bound to help these countries.

Results of British Diplomacy

England also concluded an alliance with Japan, as well as with Portugal. She was on friendly terms with Spain. It was not the fault of England that a similar understanding was not arranged with Germany. Germany and Austria complained that English diplomacy had left them isolated. German writers attributed the "ring of iron" to England's efforts. England was the great rival that Germany feared.

At times there had been bad feeling in both countries, but there is little evidence to show that England sought to destroy Germany or was planning a war against her. There is evidence to show that English statesmen sought to come to an understanding with Germany, and if Germany had met English advances she might have been on as good terms with England as were France and Russia. We can better understand the attitude of the two countries if we consider the parts played by

each in the various diplomatic crises which disturbed Europe during the last twenty years before the war.

The Morocco Question

Bismarck had been favorable to French colonial ambitions in Africa, because he thought that this activity would cause the French to forget Alsace and Lorraine; he also hoped that Anglo-French interests would clash. The Entente of 1904 ended the possibility of colonization being a bone of contention between England and France. Thenceforth Germany seemed to desire to interfere with French plans in Africa.

Morocco was a decayed Moorish state adjoining French colonial territory. As to the merits of French claims in Morocco, it can be said that France and Spain had the greatest interest in establishing order in this country. The continent of Africa had been divided up into French, English, Belgian, Italian, and German protectorates, or spheres of influence. Africa was a backward continent, and control of it by European nations meant colonization, establishment of better order, and the introduction of Western civilization. The justification for such occupation depends entirely upon the good results that this policy may produce. The United States justifies its control of the Philippine Islands by the benefits which it bestows on the inhabitants. The first cause of the occupation of territory in this manner is the need of protecting the trade that has already developed. As occupation becomes more permanent, other results follow. British trade with Morocco was greater than that of any other country, and it was to France's interest to establish order there.

Germany decided that she was interested in Morocco. The Russo-Japanese war had left Russia in such a disorganized state that she was unable to support her ally, and perhaps Germany wished to know just how far England would go in backing France. On March 31, 1905, the German Emperor landed at Tangier, where he made a speech in which he declared that the Sultan was an independent ruler. This was equivalent to saying that Germany would oppose French penetration of Morocco. Germany demanded that Morocco be placed under

the protection of all the powers, and a conference of representatives of all great nations was called to meet at Algeciras.

The Algeciras Conference (1906)

Germany's case seemed reasonable, but she rather spoiled it by her arrogant attitude. With the exception of Austria all the powers represented decided against Germany. The United States was represented, as was also Italy. Morocco was placed under French protection, as it was believed that France was the only state able to keep order in the country. The situation was very similar to that at the Congress of Berlin, when Bosnia and Herzegovina were entrusted to Austrian care. Germany had appealed to the powers and had lost. Her next move was an effort to nullify the action of the international conference.

Second Morocco Crisis (1911)

Germany sought to make a special arrangement with France, by which she should have special commercial privileges in Morocco, although France was to have political control. Such an agreement was quite the opposite of the internationalization which she had formerly advocated. The arrangement which was made did not work out satisfactorily to Germany, and in 1911 she sent the cruiser Panther to Agadir, on the plea that it was necessary to protect the interests of her merchants. Apparently Germany wished to make France divide Morocco with her. A serious situation was created by the appearance of a German warship in Moroccan waters, and for a time it seemed that Europe might be brought to war. England took the ground that France should be allowed to settle the matter without being influenced by any threat of force. She made it clear to Germany that she stood for a square deal for France. Germany thereupon backed down, as her bluff had failed. She came to an agreement with France by which she recognized a French protectorate in Morocco in return for concessions in the Congo.

The Pan-Germans were disgusted. "Morocco is easily worth a big war, or several. At best—and even prudent Germany is getting to be convinced of this—war is only postponed, and not abandoned. Is such postponement to our advantage? . . .

They say we must wait for a better moment. Wait for the deepening of the Kiel Canal, for our navy laws to take full effect. It is not exactly diplomatic to announce publicly to one's adversaries, 'To go to war does not tempt us now, but three years hence we will let loose a world war' No; if a war is really planned, not a word of it must be spoken; one's designs must be enveloped in profound mystery; then brusquely, all of a sudden, jump on the enemy like a robber in the darkness.'" —Albrecht Wirth, *Unsere aussere Politik*, 1912. *War Cyclo-pedia, Morocco Question*. The Pan-Germans from this time on clamored for war. The sword was rattling in its scabbard.

The immediate excuse was not to be found in Morocco, for Germany was not yet prepared. The immediate cause was to be found in the Balkans. It is necessary to trace the main outlines of the history of Eastern Europe.

Rise of the Balkan States

The question which had long threatened the peace of Europe was what was to become of the territory of Turkey in Europe, for Turkey was gradually becoming weaker, and was unable to govern her European provinces properly. One by one the peoples of this Balkan country became restless and freed themselves from Turkish rule by outside help. Greece had first obtained her independence after the war of 1828-29. The decisive factor had been the campaign of Russia against Turkey. Austria had not helped. A final settlement was reached by which Russia, France, and England became guarantors of an independent constitutional government in Greece. Moldavia and Wallachia became autonomous, while in 1830 Serbia obtained autonomy with Russian support, although she still owed tribute to the Sultan.

In 1853 Nicholas I of Russia proposed to the English Government that inasmuch as Turkey was a "sick man" England and Russia should proceed to divide Turkish territory between them. England declined, and when Russia invaded Turkish territory, England and France went to the aid of the Sultan in 1854, and the Crimean war stopped Russian expansion Southward and preserved Turkish integrity.

In 1866 a Hohenzollern prince, Charles I, became ruler of both Moldavia and Wallachia, two states which united to become Roumania. In 1875 a revolution in Bulgaria was punished by the Turks with such atrocities that European sentiment was aroused. Russia again declared war in 1877. Aided by Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, she defeated Turkey, and by the terms of the Treaty of San Stephano, the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania was recognized, while Bulgaria became a selfgoverning state, although a tributary of Turkey. However, the Powers interfered with this arrangement. By the treaty of Berlin, 1878, Russia was deprived of the territorial gains which she had made, and Macedonia and Roumelia were taken from Bulgaria. Austria was allowed to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Up to the Treaty of Berlin, the decline of Turkey had resulted in the establishment of five Balkan states. Russia had championed the cause of these peoples, who were Slav and Christian. Russian interest was not exclusively humanitarian, however. It has long been the dream of Russian statesmen to secure an outlet for their country to the Mediterranean. English fear of Russia led her to oppose this, and we find England championing the cause of Turkey. In the meantime England was securing herself in Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean.

Development of German Interests in the East

Bismarck once said that the whole Eastern question was "not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier." Since the Treaty of Berlin, Germany has shown an increasing interest in the Balkans and Western Asia. Germany and Austria have developed a plan which would enable them to exploit the Balkans and the near East for their own advantage.

Germany has come to supplant England as the protector and adviser of Turkey. The Turkish army has been reorganized by German officers. Germany has sought to extend her influence beyond Turkey. In 1898, in a speech at Damascus, Emperor William said, "The three hundred million Mohammedans who live scattered over the globe may be assured of this, that the German Emperor will be their friend at all times." Germany

has sought to promote Mohammedan solidarity in order to further her own interests.

In order to develop the resources of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, and to obtain a direct route to the far East, Germany secured concessions for the construction of a railroad from Constantinople to Bagdad (1740 miles). The plan to extend this road to the Persian Gulf was opposed by Great Britain. However, in 1914, just before war broke out, a satisfactory agreement seems to have been reached between England and Germany concerning this extension. This railroad will greatly facilitate the development of this territory. Friction arose because of its political significance in view of Germany's ambitions in the East.

President Wilson summarized Germany's ambitions in central Europe and the East in his Flag Day address, July 14, 1917. "Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the center of Europe, and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia; and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia or Bulgaria or Turkey or the ponderous states of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have a heart nowhere else! It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which could be kept together only by force—Czechs, Magyars, Croats, Serbs, Roumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East. These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs, would be satisfied only by undisputed independence. They could be kept quiet only by the presence or constant threat of armed men. They would live under a common power only by sheer compulsion and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had

reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way."

Austrian Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1909)

In July, 1908, occurred the "Young Turk" revolution which overthrew the rule of the Sultan Abdul Hamid. The revolutionists believed that this ruler's policy was weakening Turkey, and that reforms were needed to reconstruct Turkish strength. Germany quickly accepted the revolution and maintained her influence at Constantinople.

Austria took advantage of this situation to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina, although this was contrary to the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, by which they had been entrusted to her care. Russia was not in a position to protest vigorously. Serbia felt that her interests were involved, and a serious diplomatic crisis arose. By the intervention of England and France, war was averted, and Serbia was forced to comply. Russia felt that Austria had taken advantage of her, and had been able to carry out this highhanded action because she had the complete backing of Germany.

The Balkan Wars (1912-1913)

In 1911 Italy made war on Turkey, and took possession of Tripoli. This was one more factor to increase the unrest in the Balkans. A league consisting of Greece, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro was formed for the purpose of driving Turkey out of Europe. The Balkan states were determined to settle their own problems. The Turkish army, which had been under German tutelage, was quickly defeated, to the surprise of the Powers. A treaty was made with Turkey, enabling her to keep Constantinople, but the territory won was distributed among the various victorious states.

This result was not to the liking of Germany and Austria. If this league remained intact, it meant that their proposed "corridor" to the East would be shut. Consequently, they incited Bulgaria to turn upon her allies. A Bulgarian attack on Serbia started a second war. However, Greece came to Serbia's aid, as did Roumania. The latter state had not taken part

in the first war, and was consequently fresh. Bulgaria was completely defeated, and by the treaty of Bucharest in 1913, a new arrangement of Balkan territory was made which weakened Bulgaria. Serbia received compensation in Macedonia while a new state, Albania, was created.

Germany and Austria had again backed the losing side, and the new situation was worse for them than before. Serbia, victorious and greater in size, with friendship for Russia but none for Austria, blocked the Pan-German route to the East. The Balkans had settled their own troubles, but Germany and Austria felt that the Treaty of Bucharest must be broken. An independent Serbia was not to be tolerated.

Germany and Russia

Notwithstanding the fact that Germany sided with Austria instead of Russia, and directly interfered with Russian interests when those of Austria were involved, we still find her endeavoring to influence Russian affairs. Russia had also annexed a part of the old Kingdom of Poland. Prussian statesmen tried to make the Russian government feel that they had a common problem in ruling the Poles.

Furthermore, the two countries had the same autocratic government. From 1904 to 1907, a series of communications passed between Emperor William and Nicholas II, Tsar of Russia, which were recently made public by the revolutionary Government. At the time when the Russian people were seeking to obtain a more liberal government, the German Emperor offered his support to the Russian dynasty and sought to draw Russia from the alliance with France. It was suggested that Germany and Russia annex Denmark.

Germany and England

The last and most tragic phase of the period preceding the outbreak of the war, was the strong effort on the part of England to come to a friendly understanding with Germany. In 1912, a treaty was negotiated between the two countries. Great Britain proposed that they sign the following declaration: "The two powers being naturally desirous of securing peace and friend-

ship between them, England declares that she will neither make, nor join in, any unprovoked attack upon Germany. Aggressions upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part, of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which England is now a party, nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object." Germany refused to sign unless Great Britain would agree to remain neutral in any war which might break out on the continent. Had England promised to stand aside while Russia and France were being crushed, her time would have come in the end. Treitschke said: "The last settlement, the settlement with England, will probably be the lengthiest and the most difficult."

In 1914 the two countries seem to have come to definite understanding. Two agreements were drawn up. One between Germany and England, the other between England and Turkey. The terms were not published, but the Bagdad railway question, and difficulties in Africa were settled. The war prevented the signing of this agreement. Was Germany serious or was this merely another of her many efforts to break the Entente?

CHAPTER III

THE AUSTRO-SERBIAN CONTROVERSY

Austrian Hostility toward Serbia

The Treaty of Bucharest and the success of Serbia was intolerable to Austria and Germany. The former Prime Minister of Italy, Giolitti, has revealed a proposal made by Austria to her allies which clearly indicates Austria's purpose to humble Serbia. On August 9, 1913, the day before the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest, Austria declared her intention of taking action against Serbia. She defined this action as defensive, and asked whether Germany and Italy would support her. Italy replied that this could not be considered defensive.

Pan-Slavism a Menace to the Dual Monarchy

The Balkan situation had not only become unfavorable to the plans of Germany and Austria for the control of the East, but it had become a menace to the unity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Under the rule of the Dual Monarchy are many different races and nationalities. The constitutional system is so arranged that the German and Magyar races are enabled to control all the others. Those races which thus lack any effective voice in the government hope to gain autonomy and control of their own affairs, and the success of the Balkan states in gaining independence from Turkey made this desire on the part of these oppressed peoples all the stronger. Serbia and Roumania even looked forward to the time when they might incorporate the peoples of their race who are in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The idea of a "Greater Serbia" was being actively forwarded by patriotic societies, which spread the idea of the union of the Serbs within the Austro-Hungarian Empire with Serbia. In 1917 representatives from the Austrian provinces and the Prime Minister of Serbia signed an agreement to establish at some future time a new state to be ruled by the King of Serbia and to be called the "Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes." This

propaganda sought to undermine the Austrian state, and was a constant danger to it. Hence Austrian statesmen quite naturally felt that they must take strong measures to suppress such activities. On the other hand, the Serbs felt justified in such revolutionary plans, because Austria did not grant her peoples self-government.

Thus, in one sense, Austrian interest in the Balkans was defensive. It must be remembered that Austria has done a great work in the past. She stopped the Turkish invasion of Europe, and she gave the peoples she ruled a more stable government and a higher civilization than they perhaps would have possessed otherwise. However, the time has come when these peoples have a right to self-government, and the reactionary government of the Hapsburg dynasty does not wish to grant this. The peoples formerly under Turkish rule have obtained independence. The nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire feel that they may some day be equally fortunate.

For this reason the Dual Monarchy was anxious to destroy Serbia. Furthermore, such intentions conformed to the Pan-German plan, and Germany adopted the policy of her ally. In fact, Austria was dependent on the support of Germany to carry out her plans. Russia was the friend of the Slav peoples, and particularly of Serbia. Pan-Slavism and Pan-Germanism met in the Balkans. Pan-Germanism stands for the domination and suppression of weaker nationalities. Pan-Slavism at its best means the settlement of the complicated racial problems of South-eastern Europe by securing liberty and independence for each and every oppressed nationality.

The Assassination at Serajevo

On June 28, 1914, the Austrian Crown Prince, Franz Ferdinand, and his wife, while on an official visit to Serajevo, the capital of the province of Bosnia, were killed by Serbs. The assassins were subjects of the Dual Monarchy, but members of the secret society in Serbia, the *Narodna Obrana*, which was carrying on Serbian propaganda.

The Austrian Ultimatum

The crime was universally condemned, and it was generally felt that Austria had a just right to take measures which would stop such plots. European statesmen waited until Austria should investigate the crime, and any fear of international complications was lulled to sleep as the days passed. The question which confronted Austria was whether she should seek to deal adequately with those who committed the crime and seek to prevent further plots or whether she should regard the offense as one committed by the Serbian state. Austria chose the latter course, and on July 23 she submitted a note to Serbia which startled Europe, because of the extreme conditions which it imposed on Serbia, and because it demanded an answer within forty-eight hours.

Austria demanded that the society, *Narodna Obrana* and other associations of similar character, should be dissolved. All phases of instruction in Serbian schools which tended to promote hatred of Austria were to be eliminated. It was demanded that Serbia should agree to "accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government for the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the Monarchy"; also "to take judicial proceedings against the accessories to the plot of the 28th of June who are on Serbian territory; delegates of the Austro-Hungarian Government will take part in the investigations relating thereto."

The essential point was that Austria demanded the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Serbian Government. "The demands of that [Austrian] Government are more brutal than any ever made upon any civilized state in the history of the world, and they can be regarded only as intended to provoke war." So said the German paper, *Vorwärts*. The Russian Ambassador said that the demands "were absolutely unacceptable by any independent state, no matter how small." Efforts were made to get the time limit extended, so that mediation between Austria and Serbia might be possible. This Austria refused to consider. Serbia accepted eight of the ten demands. As to "collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hun-

garian Government," Serbia added this qualification: "as agrees with the principle of international law, with criminal procedure, and with good neighborly relations." Serbia said that participation of Austrian representatives in the trial of Serbian subjects would be a violation of the Serbian constitution and laws. Serbia further suggested that the matter be referred to The Hague Tribunal or to a conference of representatives of the great Powers. Serbia had humbled herself. Austria had obtained practically everything that she had asked, and as much as she had a right to expect, but two hours after receiving the Serbian reply Austria declared war on Serbia.

Danger of European War

Austria's contention was that this was a purely local quarrel between herself and Serbia. Was this a possible view of the matter? War with Serbia would disturb the Balkan situation, and furthermore, Russia had interests in the Balkans no less than Austria, and would not permit Serbia to lose her independent status. There was every probability that if Austria insisted on her extreme demands a European war would result from her action. Nevertheless, Austria persisted in seeing the situation only from her own point of view. This is the charge which must be made against Austria. Whether or not Russian claims were justifiable, Austria knew that Russia had vital interests and would insist on the recognition of such interests. Austria pressed her case against Serbia with her eyes open to the probability of Russian intervention. This she has admitted in the introduction to her *Red Book*.

Germany's Attitude

It has been said that a conference held at Potsdam, July 5, 1914, decided that the Serajevo murder should be made a pretext for an effort to crush Serbia. Germany has officially denied this. The German Government also insists that it had no precise knowledge of the Austrian note beforehand. Did Austria risk a war with Russia without being sure of German support? Why did Austria not go to war with Serbia in 1913, as she announced to Italy she intended to do? Apparently she had been

restrained by Germany. The German *White Book* says: "We were perfectly aware that a possible warlike attitude of Austria-Hungary against Serbia might bring Russia upon the field, and that it might, therefore, involve us in a war, in accordance with our duty as allies." The German attitude was that "the question at issue was one for settlement between Austria and Serbia alone, and that there should be no interference from outside in the discussions between these two countries."

It would seem evident that Austria and Germany intended to force the issue against Serbia without regard to the consequences. The German Secretary of State told the British Ambassador on July 25 that the Austro-Hungarian Government wished to give the Serbs a lesson, and that the Dual Monarchy meant to take military action.

CHAPTER IV

EFFORTS TO AVERT WAR AND THEIR FAILURE

Russia's Position

Serbia was undoubtedly influenced by the powers, particularly Russia, to make a favorable reply. What did Russia demand? The Russian attitude is shown to be consistent throughout the diplomatic negotiation which preceded the declarations of war. She insisted that the independence of Serbia must be maintained. Sazanof, Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, said to the Austrian Ambassador on July 26: "The intention which inspired this document [the Austrian note to Serbia] is legitimate if you pursued no aim other than the protection of your territory against the intrigues of Serbian anarchists; but the procedure to which you have had recourse is not defensible." He concluded: "Take back your ultimatum, modify its form, and I will guarantee you the result." At all times Russia was willing to negotiate, but she firmly insisted that Austria had gone too far, and that the continuation of her policy meant the reduction of Serbia to a position of dependence, which Russia could not permit.

Sir Edward Grey's Proposals

Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, was active till the last in his efforts to find a way to preserve the peace of Europe. "The high sense of justice of the British nation and of British statesmen could not blame the Austrian Government if the latter defended by the sword what was theirs, and cleared up their position with a country whose hostile policy had forced upon them for years measures so costly as to have gravely injured Austrian national prosperity." (Sir E. Grey, July 27.) England was thus ready to grant that Austria had just grievances against Serbia.

Furthermore, England refused to take sides in the controversy. Russia proposed that Great Britain should take a stand with France and Russia as the surest means of preserving peace.

This Sir Edward Grey refused to do. To the end he believed that England could accomplish the best results by reserving her liberty of action, that is by refusing to commit herself to either side.

Sir Edward Grey proposed that the four Powers not directly interested, namely, France, Germany, Italy, and Great Britain, should act as mediators. He asked the governments of these three countries to instruct their ambassadors to meet him in conference at London in an effort to find a way out, while Serbia, Austria and Russia should refrain from operations during the conference. France and Italy accepted. Sazanof said that he was endeavoring to negotiate directly with Austria and must await a reply from Vienna, but if this proved unfavorable, he would accept the plan or any other proposal that would help solve the problem.

Germany's Attitude

In the meantime Germany was endeavoring to get England and France to commit themselves to the idea that the quarrel was strictly local and to use their influence to keep Russia out of it. In other words, Austria was to have a free hand. When this was proposed to France, the French Minister suggested that Germany should likewise restrain her ally, Austria. This Germany refused to do.

As to Sir Edward Grey's proposal, Germany accepted the general idea of mediation, but prevented any conference from meeting by refusing to take part in one. As an excuse, she merely said that she could not interfere in the affairs of her ally. This she thought would be bringing Austria before a court of arbitration. Sir Edward Grey replied that the conference would in no sense be a court but merely an informal discussion. In discussing the matter with the French Ambassador, the German Secretary of State, von Jagow, was so indefinite in his answers that he was asked if he wanted war. As Germany accepted the idea of mediation, and claimed to be anxious to preserve peace, Sir Edward Grey proposed that she suggest a way by which mediation could take place. In reply, all that Germany would say was that Russia had no concern in the quarrel between Austria and Serbia.

In the meantime Austria refused to discuss the Serbian note with Russia. Thus neither Austria nor Germany would make any concession or take any action which would clear up the situation. They merely insisted that Austria should not be interfered with by Russia in dealing with Serbia. Did they want war with Russia, or did they think that she could be made to back down as she had been forced to do when Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Russian Proposals

In a personal telegram to the Kaiser, the Tsar of Russia proposed that the whole question be referred to The Hague Tribunal. No mention is made of this in the German *White Book*. If this proposal had been accepted, it would doubtless have led to peace.

On July 30 Sazanof made the following proposal: "If Austria, recognizing that the Austro-Serbian question has assumed the character of a question of European interest, declares herself ready to eliminate from her ultimatum points which violate the sovereign rights of Serbia, Russia engages to stop her military preparations." At the suggestion of Sir Edward Grey, this proposal was modified to read: "If Austria consents to stay the march of her troops on Serbian territory; and if, recognizing that the Austro-Serbian conflict has assumed the character of a question of European interest, she admits that the Great Powers may examine the satisfaction which Serbia can accord to the Austro-Hungarian Government, without injury to her rights as a sovereign state and to her independence, Russia undertakes to maintain her waiting attitude." Here was a definite formula for discussion.

Austria Becomes Willing to Negotiate

While Austria was proceeding with her military preparations, Russia was doing the same. Apparently this brought Austria to her senses. Unable to bluff Russia, she became more conciliatory, and on July 30, the Austro-Hungarian Minister had a friendly conference with the Russian Ambassador. It was agreed that the Austrian Ambassador at St. Petersburg should

immediately be authorized to discuss "what settlements would be compatible with the dignity and prestige for which both empires had an equal concern." Austria expressed a willingness to discuss the grievances against Serbia with the other Powers, and even yielded the point upon which Russia had insisted from the beginning that "neither an infraction of Serbian sovereign rights nor the acquisition of Serbian territory was being contemplated by Austria-Hungary." The whole question between Russia and Austria was ready for settlement. Why did war come?

Mobilization

Germany blamed Russia for the outbreak of the war, declaring that Russian mobilization forced her into war.

The mobilization of a country means the passing from the usual conditions of peace times into a state of preparation for war. This implies the assembling of troops, the acquisition of supplies, and the preparation of the entire machinery of war. In the countries of continental Europe this could be accomplished more quickly than in England or America where universal military training does not exist.

Obviously, the country which can mobilize the most rapidly has an advantage over its opponents. Germany has the most perfect plans for rapid mobilization. In Russia, where fewer railroads exist and distances are much greater, the process is much slower. However, Germany has powerful states on both sides of her and hence requires greater speed. The German plan of campaign has always been based on the idea that Germany must strike before either France or Russia could be fully ready to meet her attack.

On July 25 Russia ordered the mobilization of thirteen army corps to be effective whenever Austria brought armed pressure upon Serbia. On July 29 it was decided to send troops to the Austrian frontier, as Austria had already gone to war against Serbia and was massing troops on the Russian frontier. This action was officially communicated to the German Government. Austria was informed that the Tsar was merely insisting on his rights to have something to say in the Serbian question.

On July 27 the German Secretary of State told the British Ambassador that if Russia mobilized against Germany, the latter would have to follow suit. When asked what was meant by Russian mobilization against Germany, he replied that if Russia mobilized in the south,—namely against Austria—Germany would not mobilize.

On July 29 a council of war was held at Potsdam, at which German statesmen and military leaders apparently made an important decision. The German Chancellor rushed back to Berlin and hastened to see the British Ambassador. He said that if England would bind herself to remain neutral, “every assurance would be given the British Government that the Imperial Government [German] aimed at no territorial acquisitions at the expense of France should they prove victorious in any war that might ensue.” However, when questioned, the Chancellor said no guarantee would be given to respect French colonies. The neutrality of Belgium would be respected, although the treatment of Belgium would depend on the action of France, but the integrity of Belgium would be respected after the war if she had not taken sides against Germany. Sir Edward Grey absolutely refused this bid for neutrality.

As a further indication of German intentions, the German Ambassador on the same day informed Russia that the German Government had decided to mobilize if Russia did not stop her military preparations. Sazanof protested that there had been no mobilization against Germany; that Russia had mobilized only because Austria had done so. The German military *Attaché* was informed by the Russian chief of staff, on his honor, that up to that time there had been no mobilization. The German *White Book* says that reports of Russian and French mobilization kept coming in and, therefore, Germany did not believe the Russian official statement. It must be noted that the German Secretary of State had previously said that Russian mobilization in the south would not necessitate German mobilization. The German attitude had changed.

France requested Russia to do nothing which would give offense to Germany. However, Russia was convinced that Germany would do nothing to restrain Austria.

It was at this time that Austria began to show a conciliatory attitude. On July 29 the German Chancellor said that he had asked Austria to state specifically her intentions, and the German Secretary also said that he had asked Austria to resume negotiations with Russia. The German Emperor telegraphed the Tsar that he was using every influence to induce Austria to come to "a frank and satisfactory understanding with Russia." Germany has not made public any documents which show this, but Austria certainly did become reasonable on July 30.

On July 31* Russia mobilized. This step was taken because Austria ordered a general mobilization on the same day, and because it was claimed that Germany had been secretly mobilizing against Russia for six days previously. However, the Tsar telegraphed the Kaiser: "It is far from us to want war. As long as negotiations between Austria and Serbia continue, my troops shall take no provocative action."

On the same day Sir Edward Grey made a last effort to avert war. He said that if Germany could put forth any proposal which made it certain that Germany and Austria were striving for European peace, he would support it; and that if Russia and France refused to support it, "Great Britain would have nothing more to do with the consequences." Here was Germany's chance to have peace with English backing. There is no record that she even considered it.

At midnight, July 31, Germany demanded that Russia suspend all military preparations by midday, August 1. France was asked what would be her attitude if Germany and Russia went to war. The reply was that "France would do what her interests dictated."

The Russian interpretation of this ultimatum was that if she did not demobilize, Germany meant war. Two hours after the twelve-hour limit expired, the Tsar telegraphed that he understood that Germany would mobilize, but he wished that such measures should not mean war, but that negotiations for peace

*Germany has endeavored to prove that the mobilization order was signed on the 29th or 30th. On the other hand, it is said that this change must be attributed to a newspaper agency. See *War Cyclopaedia, Mobilization Controversy*.

might continue. That evening at 7:10 Germany declared war on Russia. The reason given was that Russia would not demobilize. Later, in the *White Book*, it was stated that Russian troops had already crossed the German frontier. France issued orders for a general mobilization on August 1. On August 3 Germany declared war on France, charging that France had violated German territory. This complaint has been since shown to be untrue.

Thus war broke out in Europe, not because of the quarrel between Austria and Serbia, nor because of the quarrel between Russia and Austria. These matters had reached a point where they could have been settled by negotiation. Austria had given Russia the only assurances that Russia demanded. War came because Germany took the situation into her own hands and abruptly demanded that Russia demobilize.

Even if we conclude that Russian mobilization was ill-advised and premature, it is difficult to understand why Germany forced the issue at a time when Austria was ready to negotiate, and also when England was ready to back Germany if Russia proved unreasonable. The German *White Book* says that Russia wanted war. Throughout the polished diplomatic correspondence there is repeated evidence to the contrary, whereas there is not one document which indicates any positive effort made or suggested by Germany that was in the direction of peace.

The following summary of the efforts to prevent war has been only **recently made public**. It is the statement made by the German Ambassador to Great Britain, Prince Lichnowsky:

"As appears from all official publications, without the facts being controverted by our own *White Book*, which, owing to its poverty and gaps, constitutes a grave self-accusation:

"1. We encouraged Count Berchtold [Austrian Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs] to attack Serbia, although no German interest was involved, and the danger of a world war must have been known to us—whether we knew the text of the ultimatum is a question of complete indifference.

"2. In the days between July 23 and July 30, 1914, when M. Sazanof emphatically declared that Russia could not tolerate an attack upon Serbia, we rejected the British proposals of media-

tion, although Serbia, under Russian and British pressure, had accepted almost the whole ultimatum, and although an agreement about the two points in question could easily have been reached, and Count Berchtold was even ready to satisfy himself with the Serbian reply.

“3. On July 30, when Count Berchtold wanted to give way, we, without Austria having been attacked, replied to Russia’s mere mobilization **by sending an ultimatum** to St. Petersburg, and on July 31 we declared war on the Russians,* although the Czar had pledged his word that as long as negotiations continued not a man should march—so that we deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement.

“In view of these indisputable facts, it is not surprising that the whole civilized world, outside Germany, attributes to us the sole guilt for the world war.”

*This date should be August 1.

CHAPTER V

HOW THE WAR BEGAN

By August 1 four large nations were in a state of war—Germany, Austria, Russia, and France. It remained to be seen what Great Britain and Italy would do in the face of such a situation.

Great Britain Not Prepared for War

There were many ways in which Great Britain was unprepared. Political questions, such as Woman's Suffrage, and Irish Home Rule, had produced violent factional differences in England. Northern Ireland was prepared to resist the introduction of Home Rule by force of arms, while the rest of the island had threatened rebellion if it did not get it. Furthermore, the Empire seemed loosely bound together. There was no certainty that the colonies would support the mother country. The unrest and revolutionary disturbances in India might cause serious embarrassment. English sentiment had long been peaceful and against war. England was wealthy and prosperous; had she not lost the ability to fight a successful war? Finally, she had no universal system of military training. She was not a nation in arms, but possessed only a small regular army, which the Kaiser called "a contemptible little army." She had only her great fleet. Without doubt Germany had carefully weighed all these factors.

England Anxious to Preserve Peace

No diplomat in Europe had worked more earnestly for peace than Sir Edward Grey. He refused to allow England to be compromised in any way which might destroy her position as a peace-maker. Germany had bid for British neutrality. Did she expect that England would remain neutral, even though she had made no declaration to that effect?

In reply to the German proposal that England promise to remain neutral in case there should be a continental war, Sir Edward Grey, while rejecting the proposal, and saying that he would support any German proposal for peace that was sincere

and reasonable, even against France and Russia, proposed a future league of peace. If this could be arranged, Germany would "be assured that no aggressive or hostile policy would be pursued against her or her allies by France, Russia, and ourselves, jointly or separately." Not only was England assuring Germany that she would insist on a reasonable settlement of the present quarrel by France and Russia; she went beyond that and guaranteed that Germany need fear nothing in the future.

Again, on August 1, the German Ambassador asked if England would remain neutral if German did not violate Belgian neutrality. Sir Edward Grey replied that England's hands were still free, but he could not promise complete neutrality regardless of what might happen. On the other hand France and Russia were beseeching England at this very time to declare herself. Manifestly England was still free to act. Her decision to go to war came later.

After the German declaration of war against Russia and invasion of Luxemburg, England assured France that if the German fleet came into the British Channel to operate against the French coast, the British fleet would give protection. This was in accordance with an agreement made some years before, according to which the French fleet was to be concentrated in the Mediterranean, while the British fleet guarded the North Sea. Sir Edward Grey explained that this in no sense bound England to go to war unless Germany took such action.

England's Crisis

The European situation was in such a state by August 1 that England had to consider on what conditions she might find it necessary to enter the struggle. In the first place, could she allow the Triple Entente, which was an understanding intended to preserve the balance of power, to be broken? If she stayed out and Russia and France were crushed, she would eventually have to deal with Germany alone. Public opinion in England was much divided as to whether it would be advisable for England to enter the war merely to preserve the Entente.

A more concrete question was what England would do if Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium. If Germany did not

march on France through Belgium, but limited her attack to the short frontier between France and Germany, France had a fair chance to defend herself. Furthermore, German occupation of Belgium at once became a menace to England. The neutrality of this country had been established because its occupation by either Germany, France, or England was a menace to the others. Unless England went back on what she had always stood for, she could not permit Germany to occupy Belgium without fighting.

The Neutrality of Belgium and Luxemburg

Throughout European history the Netherlands have been the battleground of Europe. This territory is the key to the control of northern Europe. France, in particular, has striven to gain control of this fertile and well situated country. England fought in the Low Countries against Louis XIV and Napoleon. Because of the importance of this land, the Powers decided to create an independent state here, which would be strong enough to prevent aggression by any great Power, but this Kingdom of the Netherlands was composed of two separate peoples. In 1830, the Belgians separated from the Dutch, and asked the Powers to grant them independence. In 1839 it was decided that Belgium should be a perpetually independent state. Both Belgian independence and neutrality were guaranteed by the Treaty of London, which was signed by England, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. This treaty was then intended to prevent French aggression rather than that of Germany.

In 1870, on the eve of the Franco-German war, Bismarck showed that France had designs on Belgium, and England at once asked both belligerents whether or not they would respect Belgian neutrality. Both countries agreed to do this.

These treaties were the surest guarantee that the peace of Europe could have. If either England, France, or Germany conquered Belgium, the other two countries would, therefore, be threatened. As Sir Edward Grey put it, Belgium was the "main rivet" of the peace of Europe. In 1914 it was to Germany's interest to invade Belgium, but that in no sense changed the validity of the treaties which it had formerly been her interest to keep.

Luxemburg is a small state, situated between Germany, France and Belgium, which was constituted the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg in 1814, and neutralized by the Powers in 1867. Luxemburg had the same legal standing in international law as Belgium.

England Asks That Belgium Neutrality Be Respected

As in 1870, England asked both France and Germany if they intended to respect the neutrality of Belgium. France at once replied in the affirmative, Germany declined to commit herself on the ground that to do so would disclose her plan of campaign. As a matter of fact, such an answer indicated that she was considering an invasion of Belgium.

German Demands upon Belgium

On August 2 Germany demanded that Belgium grant her permission to march through Belgium to attack France. The reason for such a request was that the German Government had reliable information that France intended to march through Belgium to attack Germany. Her excuse, let it be noticed, was that she knew French intentions, although France had just officially declared that she would not do this, and France later proved that she was sincere by directing her first campaign toward Alsace-Lorraine. Germany had no excuse for her demand. Later she admitted that necessity forced her to violate Belgium. In return, Germany said that she would guarantee the possessions and independence of Belgium after the war. Belgium was asked to break a sacred treaty and barter away five guarantors for one. Then came the threat. If Belgium showed the least hostility, she would be treated as an enemy by Germany. Notwithstanding all that Belgium had been pledged by the powers of Europe; regardless of how absolutely above reproach her conduct had been, Germany proposed that she sell herself and her guarantors for a few empty phrases.

The Belgian reply is a memorable document. After saying simply that if France broke her word and invaded Belgium, she would be opposed by Belgian armed force, the Belgian Government went on to say that Belgium had always been "faithful

to her international obligations," and that Germany's proposal was a "flagrant violation of international law." "The Belgian Government, if they were to accept the proposals submitted to them, would sacrifice the honor of the nation and betray their duty toward Europe. Conscious of the part which Belgium has played for more than eighty years in the civilization of the world, they refuse to believe that the independence of Belgium can only be preserved at the price of the violation of her neutrality. If this hope is disappointed, the Belgian Government are firmly resolved to repel, by all the means in their power, every attack upon their rights." Thus did brave little Belgium refuse to barter away her freedom and her honor.

On August 4 Germany invaded Belgium. Preserving a scrupulously correct attitude till the end, Belgium did not appeal to her guarantors for help until her territory was actually invaded. On August 4 she announced that she would resist the invader with all her resources.

German Efforts to Justify This Violation

Germany put forth a plea of necessity. The law was no longer of advantage to her; therefore, she would break it. "Gentlemen, we are now in a state of necessity, and necessity knows no law," said the German Chancellor. "Believe me, it is with anguish in her heart that Germany has resolved to violate Belgian neutrality: and personally I feel the most poignant regret. But what else is possible? It is a question of life or death for the Empire. If the German armies would avoid being caught between hammer and anvil, they must strike a vigorous blow on the side of France so as to turn upon Russia." So spoke the German Secretary of State, von Jagow, to the Belgian Ambassador, in an interview which was grudgingly given. "But the French frontier is of such an extent as to make passage through Belgium avoidable," was the answer. Von Jagow said: "But that frontier is too well fortified." The Belgian then asked: "Have you the least thing with which to reproach us? Have we not always, for three-quarters of a century, fulfilled toward Germany, as well as to all the great powers guarantors, all our duties of neutrality? Have we not given Germany proof of our loyal friendship?

With what coin does Germany repay all this? With making Belgium the battlefield of Europe, and we know what devastation, what calamity, modern warfare brings in its train." Von Jagow could only say: "Germany has nothing with which she can reproach Belgium; the attitude of Belgium has always been beyond reproach."

To insult the noble little country that she had wronged, Germany later sought to prove, by willfully misreading certain documents that were found in Brussels, that Belgium had already broken her neutrality by a military agreement which she had made with England. It is enough to say that this unofficial agreement was only to be effective when her neutrality was violated, and King Albert has stated that these documents were forwarded to Germany at the time they were drawn up. The Germans, therefore, knew exactly what they would find in Brussels.

The German plea defeats itself. It was to prevent the very necessity which Germany pled that Belgium had been made neutral. Germany stood bare before the world for what she was, a nation that knows not honor.

"Had Belgium been merely a small neutral nation, the crime would still have been one of the worst in the history of the modern world. The fact that Belgium was an internationalized state has made its invasion the master tragedy of the war. For Belgium represented what progress the world had made toward co-operation. If it could not survive, then no internationalism was possible. That is why, through these years of horror upon horror, the Belgian horror is the fiercest of all. The burning, the shooting, the starving, and the robbing of small and inoffensive nations is tragic enough. But the German crime in Belgium is greater than the sum of Belgium's misery. It is a crime against the basis of faith on which the world must build or perish."—*Walter Lippman.*

Great Britain Enters the War

The violation of Belgium brought Great Britain into the war. England could no more permit Germany to occupy Belgium than Germany would have permitted Great Britain to take pos-

session of this territory. Her interests forced such action, but there was also the appeal of an innocent people whose independence was threatened, and whose liberty was outraged. This was sufficient **justification** for England's decision. It was an appeal that swept across the Atlantic. How many Americans can say that it is not our duty to right Belgium's wrongs? However, America was not pledged to defend Belgium; England was obligated by treaty, and she did not break her word.

When the news of the German note to Belgium reached England, Sir Edward Grey at once instructed the British Ambassador to inform the German Government that assurances were requested, "that the demand would not be proceeded with." The German Secretary replied that no Belgian territory would be annexed. Finally, when it was known that German troops had crossed the frontier, Sir Edward Grey, on August 4, gave the German Government till midnight to return a satisfactory answer.

At 7 o'clock that night the British Ambassador at Berlin, Sir Edward Groschen, called upon the German Chancellor, Bethmann-Holweg, whom he found "very agitated." He said that "*the step taken by His Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word—'neutrality,' a word which in wartime had so often been disregarded—just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her.*" The British Ambassador further relates what was said at this interview: "He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen. I protested strongly against that statement, and said that, in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagement to do her utmost to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked. That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could anyone have in the engagements given by Great Britain in the future." The Chancellor said: "But at what price will that

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compact have been kept? Has the British Government thought of that?" I hinted to His Excellency as plainly as I could that "fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements." There is no need to say that "honor," "solemn compact," "confidence in engagements," were empty words to German ears. Germany respects one thing only—force.

Italy Strove to Preserve Peace

Italy was a member of the Triple Alliance, consequently, her attitude deserves consideration. When the crisis of 1914 arose, Italy made every effort to co-operate with the other Powers to preserve peace. From the first, she supported Sir Edward Grey's proposals for mediation. The Italian Foreign Minister also made an important suggestion on July 28, which was that if Serbia would accept the Austrian note completely that Austria might be satisfied. Serbia, he thought, might feel that she was yielding to the powers and not to Austria.

Italy Remains Neutral

As war became more and more certain, both the Entente Powers and Germany and Austria became more anxious to know what Italy would do. On July 31 the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, the Marquis di San Giuliano, when asked by the German Ambassador as to the intentions of his Government, replied that the war undertaken by Austria was aggressive and did not fall within the purely defensive character of the Triple Alliance.

This decision is extremely important. Germany claimed that the war was begun by Russia. Italy, the ally of Germany and Austria, was bound to support them only if they were attacked. Italy refused to help her allies, "because, after examining the evidence, she concluded that Germany and Austria were the aggressors."

Italy Declares War

On May 23, 1915, Italy declared war on Austria. The reasons for this step were that she desired to obtain Austrian territory

inhabited by Italians; because of the rivalry of Austrian and Italian interests in the Adriatic; because the control of the Mediterranean by the Allies made it to her interest to side with them rather than with Austria and Germany.

Other Countries Enter the War

On August 7, 1914, Montenegro entered the war as the ally of Serbia. On August 23 Japan declared war on Germany. She still resented previous German treatment, and sent Germany an ultimatum similar in tone to one that Germany had formerly sent her. Until recently Japan's chief contribution to the war consisted of the capture of Tsingtau on Kiao-Chau Bay from the Germans, November 14, 1914. She is now participating in the Allied expedition into Russia by way of Siberia.

Bulgaria hesitated for some time, but encouraged by German success and persuaded by German offers of territory, she entered the war on the German side, October 13, 1915.

Portugal, long the ally of Great Britain, sided with the Allies, March 9, 1916.

Roumania, urged on by Russia, and anxious to obtain Transylvania from Austria, largely inhabited by Roumanians, declared war on Austria, August 27, 1916.

Greece long remained neutral in spite of her obligation to aid Serbia. The pro-German sympathies of the King were opposed by the Premier, Venizelos, who had the support of a large majority of the Greek people. The task of Venizelos was made more difficult by the blundering policy of the Allied diplomats, who had sought to keep Bulgaria out of the war by offers of territory partly at the expense of Greece. Venizelos was dismissed, but set up a provisional government in opposition to the King, who was forced to abdicate in 1917, and Greece entered the war on the Allied side, July 2, 1917.

Today, the United States, China, Siam, Brazil, have also taken the Allied side. Bolivia, Peru, Uruguay, Argentine, and Ecuador have severed diplomatic relations with Germany.

Such were the steps by which the most terrible and ruthless war that man has ever known began. The fate of all that is best in civilization hangs in the balance. Upon the heads of those who

began it, or refused to avert it, rests the responsibility for the untold misery suffered by millions of human beings and for the check which human progress has received for a generation to come. Not all the right is on one side, perhaps, but from the evidence which it now public, Germany and her ally must bear the guilt for having precipitated the war, and for having made no effort to maintain peace, when this could have been so easily done had these countries but listened to reason. The story of the negotiations that preceded war indicates beyond doubt that Germany was the nation which held the fate of the world in her hands, and the long fostering of the war idea in Germany makes it evident that she wanted war.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR

Methods of Warfare

Warfare has undergone remarkable changes since the days of the American Civil War. Today no fort can long withstand the battering of enormous cannon, firing high explosive shells. The new 16-inch American naval gun discharges a shell which contains a charge of powder weighing 900 pounds and is six feet in length, and it hurls this terrible projectile twenty-seven miles. More remarkable still is the German gun which has shelled Paris from a distance of seventy miles. For shorter work the French "75" (caliber 75 milimeters, or about three inches), which is a rapid-fire cannon, uses a shell that bursts into some 2,000 pieces. In a modern battle, great numbers of guns of every description are concentrated on both sides, and enormous numbers of shells are used in a short time. It is estimated that the French and British used 20,000,000 shells during the battle of the Somme.

Preparatory to an attack, the cannon hurl large quantities of metal at the opposing defenses, so that all obstructions are removed. After such preparation has been made, and all is ready for the charge, or "going over the top," the artillery lays down a barrage, or "curtain of fire." By careful calculation, all guns are trained on a certain line a short distance before the advancing troops for their protection while they are attacking the enemy, and the falling shells advance with great precision, timed to coincide with the rate of the infantry charge. The barrage is also used to break up similar attacks of the enemy.

In the past, battles were over in two or three days at the most, and a decision obtained. Now a battle lasts months. The numbers of men engaged are so great that rapid results are impossible. Furthermore, up to 1918, most of the fighting resolved itself into trench warfare. After fighting a campaign in the open at the beginning of the war, both sides "dug in." Since then, the opposing lines have been defended by complicated system of trenches. Usually there are at least first, second, and

third line trenches, so that if the most advanced defenses can not be held the defense can continue in the next line. These are all connected by communication trenches, which continue to the rear. Troops moving to or from the front are thus protected from the more or less continuous shell fire, which threatens a region miles behind the advanced trenches. All provisions, ammunition, and materials must be carried forward through such communication trenches, which greatly increases the difficulties that attend the supplying of the troops occupying the most advanced positions. At intervals, dugouts are constructed underground. Here the men must sleep and seek protection when subjected to heavy cannonading. The frequent rains fill these trenches with water and mud, adding to the terrible hardships which the soldier must undergo. Before the trenches are barbed-wire entanglements. The area between the advanced trenches is commonly called "no man's land," because it is continually swept with rifle, machine gun, and artillery fire. After a few days' service in the trenches, the intense nervous strain and unsanitary conditions to which men are subjected make it necessary for them to be relieved by fresh troops, so that they may be retired to the rear for recuperation.

All the ingenuity of man is employed in such warfare. Sappers dig tunnels under the trenches of the enemy, in which large amounts of explosive are placed. The art of camouflage is employed to conceal everything that is a mark for the opposing guns and airplanes. Cannons, roads, motor trucks, and loopholes are disguised by neutral colors and boughs of trees. When a great offensive begins, all the artillery starts a bombardment of such intensity that the opposing trenches are flattened out. It then becomes necessary for the troops to retire to the dugouts and wait for the infantry attack that is to follow. Then they emerge and try to drive back the greater number of men that the opposing side has gathered for the attack.

The use of poison gas has made warfare more horrible. Various gases, which destroy the lungs or burn the skin, are discharged in shells or allowed to sweep over the enemy before the wind. For protection against gas, it is necessary to wear masks, which completely cover the head and prevent the breathing of the dangerous fumes.

Another innovation is the "tank." This is a large armored gasoline tractor, which can cross any kind of rough ground, even the trenches. It breaks through the barbed wire, and flattens down all obstructions in its path. It is armed with machine guns, and can only be destroyed by artillery fire. The English have used "tanks" very extensively.

Very extensive use is made of aircraft. It is no longer possible for an army to conceal its movements behind the lines as was formerly the case. Great balloons are anchored behind the lines, from which observers are continually watching the movements of the enemy. The greatest development has been in the use of airplanes. These are of different kinds. Strong, heavy planes carry large quantities of bombs to drop behind the enemy's lines. Other planes are used to make observations and to take photographs of the enemy's positions. Then the small one-man planes seek to destroy the others and to fight those in their class. More recently airplanes have been used close to the ground for machine gun fire on the troops engaged in battle below.

Warfare on the sea has been changed by the submarine or U-boat. This type of vessel is able to travel under water, but is able to observe what is happening above the surface by its periscope, a long arm extending vertically upward, in which mirrors are arranged in such a way that the men in the submarine can see any ship that may be near them. The submarine discharges the torpedo, a long projectile containing a load of guncotton. The torpedo moves on its own power, which is furnished by compressed air. It has a steering apparatus and is automatically driven by propellers. In fighting the submarine, wire nets, small, swift boats, called destroyers, and airplanes, are used. All warships are now well protected against submarines, which are used by Germany to destroy commercial vessels, in the hope of ultimately starving out her enemies, who must obtain a large part of their supplies by water.

Perhaps the greatest change in warfare consists in the great size of armies. The problems of feeding and caring for such large concentrations of men are difficult to solve. Special railway lines have to be constructed behind the lines to facilitate

transportation. Gasoline motor trucks are extensively used, and concrete roads are built for the use of such trucks. During the entire battle of Verdun, the French army was supplied by trucks, which illustrates how extensively this form of transportation has been developed.

Strategy has changed very greatly, because of the great masses of men engaged. The battle lines change very little when the armies are of nearly equal strength. Great offensives, which result only in the gain of a few square miles, cost terribly in the loss of men and material. Thus the war has been one of attrition, or the effort to gradually wear down the man power and resources of the enemy. The real strategy consists in killing more men on the opposing side than are lost in the attempt. All offensives are costly and slow. A tremendous concentration of artillery and men at a given point yields an almost certain advance, but the other side at once calls up equal strength to meet such an attack, and as its further progress is stayed, the offensive dies out, at least until further elaborate preparations are made.

It would seem that the final victory will go to whichever side has the largest number of men and resources left. The nations which first break under this exhausting strain will cease to be factors in the struggle. This means that every warring nation must so organize all its resources of labor, manufacturing, and production that every effort is directed solely toward the one end of maintaining the largest possible army in the field, that is, keeping it properly supplied with food and munitions. In England, France, and Germany, women now do men's work in the fields and factories. There must be no waste of effort or food. Only the most complete organization of an entire people for war, can enable a country to stand up in such a struggle. When the economic organization breaks down and the army is poorly fed and supplied, that army is already beaten. Russia broke because she was unable to stand the awful pressure. She lacked the political and economic organization that such a war requires. This war will test not merely the morale and ability of armies, but of the entire peoples at home upon whose support armies must depend.

Ruthlessness and Frightfulness

When hostilities began, there were still many people in neutral countries who believed that Germany was justified in going to war. This was particularly true in the United States, where the general situation was little understood, because the event was so astounding that it was beyond comprehension. Even the violation of Belgium was not fully understood. However, as the war progressed, the German methods of waging war aroused the contempt and indignation of all the civilized world.

War is always brutal, but as civilization has advanced, efforts have been made to confine its bad influence. This tendency found expression in the rules for the conduct of warfare drawn up by The Hague Conferences in 1899 and 1907. All the nations represented agreed to respect these rules whenever they should engage in war in the future. Germany was represented at the Conferences, but has since disregarded and broken practically every regulation then made.

The evidence is so great, that even though much of it were cast aside as of doubtful value, there would still remain enough that cannot be questioned to hold Germany up to the eternal condemnation of mankind. Without doubt every war develops brutality and deadens the better instincts of those who participate. There have been offences committed by allied soldiers, and perhaps more would have been committed had German territory been occupied, but such offences are and would be wholly the deeds of individuals. The shameful charge that can be made against Germany is that the outrages of her soldiers represent the deliberate policy of her leaders. The German method of waging war is to make it purposely as barbarous and frightful as possible for the specific purpose of terrifying her enemies.

Long before the present war, German military writers had advocated that war should be waged in as brutal a manner as possible. This can be shown by many extracts from the *German Warbook*, intended for the instruction of officers. A quotation from the Kaiser is sufficient to show the German spirit. When the German troops were departing for China in 1900, at the time of the Boxer outbreak, the Emperor made them a farewell speech. He advised them in this fashion: "As soon as you

come to blows with the enemy, he will be beaten. No mercy will be shown! No prisoners will be taken! As the Huns, under King Attila, made a name for themselves, which is still mighty in traditions and legends today, may the name of German be so fixed in China by your deeds, that no Chinese shall ever again dare to look a German askance . . . Open the way for *Kultur once for all*." German troops have justified their Kaiser's confidence. Today the world calls them "Huns." Henceforth it will be sufficient to call them Germans.

In 1915 the Germans introduced the use of poison gas, "a method of warfare up to now never employed by nations sufficiently civilized to consider themselves bound by international agreements." In self-defence the allies were forced to adopt the new weapon. The Hague rules provide that arms and projectiles "calculated to cause unnecessary suffering should not be used."

Under orders, German troops have killed the wounded. "After today no more prisoners shall be taken. All prisoners are to be killed. Wounded, with or without arms, are to be killed. Even prisoners already grouped in convoys are to be killed. Let not a single living enemy remain behind us." [Order given August 26, 1914, by General Strenger of the 58th Brigade; testified to by numerous witnesses.] "It is forbidden . . . to kill, or wound an enemy who, having laid down his arms and having no means of self-defense, gives himself up as a prisoner; to declare that no quarter will be given . . .," says The Hague rule.*

If there is any rule of civilized warfare that deserves consideration, it is that which declares that a distinction shall be made between combatants and non-combatants. The civilian population should not be made to endure the horrors of war. As The Hague Convention phrased it: "Family honors and rights, the lives of persons and private property, as well as religious convictions and practices must be respected." It is impossible in a short space to describe the systematic frightfulness of the treatment of the civilian population of Belgium and Northern France and of other territory occupied by the German military forces.

*This does not mean that Germany does not continue to take prisoners.

The German justification for their conduct is that civilians fired upon their troops. The evidence is overwhelming to show that they pursued a deliberate policy of terrorization in Belgium. Murder and massacre marked the progress of the German armies. Several thousand civilians were killed, including women and children, that the Belgians might learn to properly fear their masters.

As an example, the following proclamation may be quoted: "To the people of Liège:

"The population of Ardenne, after making a display of peaceful intentions to our troops, attacked them in a most treacherous manner. With my authorization, the General commanding these troops has reduced the town to ashes and has had 110 persons shot.

"I bring this fact to the knowledge of the people of Liège in order that they may know what fate to expect should they adopt a similar attitude.

"Liège, 22nd August, 1914.

"General von Bülow."

To quote from the diary of a German soldier: "On the night of August 18-19, the village of Saint-Maurice was punished for having fired on German soldiers, by being burnt to the ground by the German troops (two regiments, the 12th Landwehr, and the 17th). The village was surrounded, men placed about a yard from each other so that no one could get out. Then the Uhlans set fire to it, house by house. Neither man, woman, nor child could escape; only the greater part of the livestock we carried off, as that could be used. Anyone who ventured to come out was shot down. All the inhabitants left in the village were burnt with the houses." Munro, Sellery, and Krey, *German War Practices*, p. 28.

Belgian towns were looted and destroyed. But in addition to what was deliberately stolen by pillage, heavy fines were imposed on individual towns and upon Belgium as a whole. By November, 1916, \$10,000,000 a month was exacted. Probably a billion dollars has been taken from Belgium. In addition Belgium was systematically robbed of its foodstuffs, raw materials, machinery, and anything which was useful to Ger-

many. To keep the Belgian people from starving to death, England, France, and America have sent food, which was distributed by the Commission for Relief in Belgium, directed by Mr. H. C. Hoover, who later became United States Food Administrator.

Tens of thousands of Belgians and French were deported from their homes to work in Germany. Women, boys, and girls, as well as men, were put in German munition factories. Homes were broken up; children separated from their parents; wives from their husbands; and no one knew whither his relatives had been taken. The United States protested against such practices, as did other neutrals, but it was continued. "They [the Germans] have dealt a mortal blow to any prospect they may ever have had of being tolerated by the population of Flanders [which they were seeking to alienate from the French speaking Belgium]; in tearing away from nearly every humble home in the land a husband and a father or a son and brother, they have lighted a fire of hatred that will never go out; they have brought home to every heart in the land, in a way that will impress its horror indelibly on the memory of three generations, a realization of what German methods mean—not, as with the early atrocities, in heat of passion and the first lust of war, but by one of those deeds that make one despair of the future of the human race, a deed coldly planned, studiously matured, and systematically executed, a deed so cruel that German soldiers are said to have wept in its execution and so monstrous that even German soldiers are now said to be ashamed."—*Brand Whitlock, U. S. Minister to Belgium.*

Germany has carried her frightfulness to the seas, and to undefended towns and cities behind the lines. Her submarines have sunk ships of all nations without warning. In commemoration of the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, a medal was struck in Germany. However, the date upon the medal is May 5, showing that it was made before the tragedy occurred. Germany celebrated this disaster. Defenseless towns on the English coast have been bombarded. It is further the deliberate German policy to send aircraft across the lines into England, France, and Italy for the purpose of dropping explosives on

sleeping cities. On one occasion, 97 people were killed and 437 injured by a single raid upon London. Notwithstanding the hatred which such outrages aroused, it was long before British sentiment would permit retaliation.

This by no means completes the list of "frightful" practices which Germany has employed. She has driven helpless civilians, women, and children, before her troops into battle to prevent the opposing side **from firing on her advancing soldiers**. Such methods have given her no military advantage, they have rather incensed the world, and stirred the peoples fighting against Germany to greater efforts to crush the militarism that is such a curse to civilization. Worst of all, the armies fighting Germany have been forced to adopt brutal methods in self-defense. Germany has turned the great nations of the world against her by such practices. Germany will reap a bitter harvest of hatred and contempt that will require more than one generation to wipe out.

SUMMARY OF THE MILITARY PROGRESS OF THE WAR

Campaigns of 1914

Too little exact information is yet available to give even a brief treatment of the military events of the war. It is possible only to give the main characteristics of the progress of the war on the different fronts and the results so far as they are now known.

The German military plans represent a generation and more of careful study by experts. Nowhere has the study of war been carried on with such thoroughness. It was Germany's original intention to take full advantage of her own ability to mobilize quickly, and crush France before Russia could get her unwieldy masses of men into action. With France defeated, the entire German strength could be directed against Russia. This plan Germany was unable to carry out.

Instead of directing her main attack against the French frontier, the German staff decided to march through Belgium. This was because France was least protected on her Belgian frontier, and also because the greater numerical strength of the German armies would have more room for maneuvers in Belgium and Northern France.

Time was precious to the German troops. On August 4 they entered Belgium, where they first had to take the fortified city of Liège. After a brave resistance, the Belgians had to retire because the great German siege guns completely demolished the forts, which up to that time were considered impregnable. The Belgians then tried to delay the German advance as much as possible, in the hope that the French and English could come to their assistance in time to prevent the Germans from conquering all Belgium. It took the Germans sixteen days to reach the French frontier, which gave France time to prepare for her defense. Brave little Belgium had done all that she could to save Europe.

In the meantime, France had struck for Alsace and Lorraine, but after a few preliminary successes, the German armies gathered in strength and forced the French back, and by August 25 the offensive had to be abandoned.

The Germans advanced in seven armies, two of which were on the Eastern frontier, the other five going through Belgium and Luxemburg. The French and English first opposed them in Belgium, but had to fall back before greater strength. The English expeditionary force was small compared to the numbers engaged, but its famous retreat from Mons, where it first came in contact with the Germans aroused great interest. The English under Sir John French were placed in a perilous position by the retreat of the French army on their right. For several days they strove to extricate themselves from the pressure of the heavy German right wing. Furthermore the Kaiser had given orders to his men to annihilate this "contemptible little army."

As the allies retreated before them the Germans became overconfident. They felt that nothing could stop their advance on Paris. However, the plan of General Joffre was to retreat until his armies occupied a previously determined line where they could best face the enemy. This was the line of the river Marne. On the French right was the fortified town of Verdun, and on their left Paris. Thus the Germans had to abandon their plan of outflanking the French and rolling their armies together to crush them. Here Joffre gave orders to stand and fight.

The battle of the Marne lasted from September 6 to 10. The rapidly moving German right wing under von Kluck was unable to stop and attack Paris, and consequently turned to the East, but this forced it to disregard a new army which Joffre had been forming, just out of Paris under Manoury. This army at once attacked von Kluck in the rear, when he was also engaged with the English. He was forced to turn back, but after a hard fight was finally compelled to retire northward. This threw the other German armies to the East out of line. The Germans attacked heavily in the center of the French lines, where the army of General Foch bore the brunt of the battle. It was at this time that he sent his famous message to his chief. "My left has been forced back, my right is routed. I shall attack with my center." Foch finally found a break in the German lines, and by driving in a wedge with all the force he could muster, caused the retreat of the whole German line. The Germans were compelled to fall back to positions along the line of the river Aisne. They had been beaten, although they had extricated themselves from a bad situation very cleverly. However, the German invasion of France was stayed, and the invader thrown back. The result was of incalculable consequence for the future.

After striving to push the Germans further back, both sides began to construct defenses, and to extend their lines to the sea. The Germans made tremendous efforts to force their way down the coast, but were prevented in the battle of Flanders, the first phase of which was the battle of the Yser, lasting till about October 18, and the other the battle of Ypres, which ended about November 11. Up to 1918 the Western front remained almost the same bending slightly one way or the other, as both sides have launched great offensives.

The Russian campaign in the East developed with surprising rapidity. One part of the Russian offensive was launched against East Prussia. This was thrown back by von Hindenburg, who had made a lifetime study of the best way to defend this region. The Russians were badly routed in the battle of Tannenburg, August 25 to September 1. Three German offensives against Warsaw failed, and a German army narrowly

escaped disaster at Lodz, (November 19 to December 3.) To the South, the Russians successfully invaded Galicia, and threatened Hungary. Serbia took advantage of the Austrians, who found it necessary to use all their strength against the Russian advance, and drove the invaders from their country.

In the meantime, German colonies were being conquered by England, this task being entrusted chiefly to colonials. A small revolution in South Africa was put down easily, owing to the loyalty of the Boers. Turkey joined Germany, but failed to make any progress against Russia or Egypt. A revolution against Turkish rule in Arabia resulted in the foundation of an independent state, destroying any possibility of all Mohammedans rising and declaring a "Holy War" under Turkish leadership. On the sea, the English fleet completely swept away all German shipping, although the German raider *Emden* did much damage before being finally captured.

Campaign of 1915

The Allies failed to realize the need for great preparation in artillery and munitions. The result was that they endeavored to carry out offensives against the German defenses, which proved disastrous because of lack of guns and shells. An Allied offensive in Champagne failed in March and April, also a second offensive in the late summer. However, the allies were able to hold the Western line. The greater disaster was the ill-fated British attempt to force the Dardanelles; the landing of troops on Gallipoli peninsula in an effort to open the way to Constantinople was attended with great loss to the allies. This failure had great influence on the Balkan states who had not yet taken sides, and also on the eventual withdrawal of Russia from the war.

A Russian campaign in East Prussia was completely crushed by von Hindenburg in the battle of the Mazurian Lakes (Feb. 12) with great loss to the Russians. An offensive by combined Austrian and German forces resulted in the conquest of Poland, and the recovery of Galicia. The Russian losses were enormous. Russian armies were too poorly equipped to withstand the Germans, who were completely victorious in their campaign.

Bulgaria joined the Teutonic Allies, and aided the Austrians and Germans to crush Serbia. The landing of an Allied force at Salonica was timely, in that it prevented the Greek king from joining the Central Powers. The road from Berlin to Constantinople was now cleared for the Germans, and relations were established with Turkey. In the East, the Allies had suffered overwhelming reverses.

The most encouraging event of the year for the Allies was the entrance of Italy into the war. England realized the need of a great production of munitions, and Lloyd-George was placed in control of production. The Allies had found that modern warfare required tremendous preparation, for during the year Germany had gained great advantages because of the superiority which she had in all matters of military equipment.

Campaign of 1916

Germany had been making still greater preparations, and in February she launched a great offensive against Verdun. Intense fighting lasted till June, when the Germans realized that they had failed. In the autumn, the French recovered all the ground which the Germans had been able to win during the offensive. The German losses are estimated to have been half a million men. The German concentration of guns was the heaviest which the war had known up to this time.

To relieve the pressure on the French at Verdun, the English began an offensive on the Somme. The Germans were driven back on a twenty mile front for a distance of nine miles. The Allies failed to break through the German line, as they hoped to do, but they inflicted great losses on the enemy, although their own losses were estimated to have been 800,000. The Allies had made up their previous deficiency in artillery, and had learned much more about the methods of modern fighting.

On the Eastern front the Russians were able to carry out a successful offensive, while the Germans were busily engaged in the West, and the German lines were pushed back by the Russians, who also gained considerable territory from the Turks in Armenia. Roumania was encouraged by the Allied successes, and entered the war in the hope of getting possession of Transylvania. An invasion of this province was a failure, because the

Germans united with the Austrians, and not only drove the Roumanians out of Transylvania but conquered most of Roumania itself, getting control of the wheat country. The Central Powers now had most of the Balkans in their possession. The Allied army still held its position North of Salonica, but was unable to carry out any decisive operations.

In far away Mesopotamia, a small English force, which was advancing toward Bagdad, was surrounded. Efforts to relieve it failed, and it capitulated to the Turks. This event was a severe blow to English prestige among the Oriental peoples.

In Italy, the Austrian offensive, which began in the spring, was weakened by the necessity of Austria turning her strength toward Russia. The Italians then advanced, took Gorizia, and freed Italian territory from the Austrians.

On May 31, the largest naval battle of the war took place in the North Sea. The German High Seas fleet came out, and was engaged by the British cruisers until the British High Seas fleet appeared on the scene. The German fleet took advantage of the fog to make its escape. The battle was thus in no sense decisive. The German war office at first reported this as a great German victory. In reality it showed that England was still supreme on the seas.

On the whole, the Allies had the best of 1916. They had defeated Germany on the Somme, at Verdun, in Italy, while the Russians had recovered from their defeats of the previous year. The only serious reverses were the loss of Roumania, and the disaster in Mesopotamia.

Campaign of 1917

The tightening of the blockade by the Allies led Germany to inaugurate a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare in an effort to starve out her enemies by destroying as many ships as possible. Immediate results were promised, but the Allies perfected methods of fighting the submarine, and directed their attention to the building of ships to make good their losses. The result of this German policy was to bring the United States and other smaller states into the war. This submarine warfare is still going on, but the Allies are not yet in danger of being deprived of necessary supplies.

The United States at once undertook to raise an army of several million men and to supply the Allies with food and supplies. The draft law was passed, and the training of the first part of this army was soon under way. By the end of the year a large American force was already in France under General Pershing. On September 1, 1918, this force was officially stated to be one and a half million strong, and extensive preparations had been made for the manufacture of war supplies and for the building of ships. To transform a peaceful nation into a nation at war is a tremendous undertaking, and effective results will not be obtained for at least another year. However, America, has been able to profit by England's experience, and the full weight of America's resources will be in the end the decisive factor.

The results of the battle of the Somme were revealed in the early part of 1917, when the Germans retreated on a front of fifty miles to the famous "Hindenburg line." The English succeeded in getting possession of Arras, and by hard fighting they also gained possession of the high ground along the line to the northwest of this town. Late in the autumn, a surprise offensive was undertaken toward Cambrai; this offensive began without artillery preparation, the English depending on a large number of tanks to remove obstructions. Part of the gains were lost as a result of a German counter-offensive.

In the East, the British succeeded in capturing Bagdad, while another expedition from Egypt marched into Palestine and took Jerusalem from the Turks on December 9.

However, all Allied successes were more than counterbalanced by the collapse of Russia. The inefficient manner in which the Russian autocratic Government handled the war had irritated the people, who were anxious to have a more liberal government. The discovery that certain members of the Government were secretly negotiating with Germany for a separate peace precipitated a revolution, in which the soldiers participated. The Tsar abdicated March 15. A provisional government was established, and was for a time left in the hands of the moderate party, or Constitutional Democrats. However, this government found itself paralyzed by the activities of the radicals, who sought to make

the revolution social as well as political. The Workingmen's and Soldiers' Delegates formed a council which proclaimed itself the real head of the revolution. The result was the demoralization of all effective government as well as of all discipline in the army. The Germans took advantage of the situation to still further increase the confusion, and by November, the extreme radicals, the Bolsheviki, came into power. Their program was to establish a republic controlled by the poor people, by which the large estates were to be handed over to the peasants, and to conclude peace with Germany. On December 15 a truce was concluded with Germany, which provided for negotiations, and a peace conference took place at Brest-Litovsk.

This situation in Russia permitted the Central Powers to release troops on the Eastern front for use elsewhere. An offensive was begun against the Italians in October. The Italians were entirely unable to check the German advance. Discontent and disorder in the army fomented mainly by German intrigue, made German success more complete, and the Italian armies were pushed back into Italy. The offensive was halted finally by the aid of French and English troops.

Thus the results of 1917 were not favorable to the Allies. Up to this time, Russia had prevented Germany and Austria from directing their complete attention to their enemies in the West. Now that Russia was no longer a factor, Germany and Austria could obtain food supplies from Russia, and they could also turn the full force of their strength to the Italian and Western fronts.

Campaign of 1918

On March 21, Germany, after great preparations launched a great offensive against the Allied line in Northern France. Realizing that the United States would soon begin to make her strength felt, Germany sought to strike a decisive blow, and if possible so cripple the English and the French that they would cease to be effective factors in the war. The first objective of the German drive was the town of Amiens, which is an important base of supplies for the British army. The attack began at the place where the English and French armies joined each other.

The Allies were gradually forced back in this greatest offensive of the war. They finally made a stand a short distance from Amiens, where they held. However, the Germans had recovered practically all of the ground lost in the battle of the Somme and the Hindenburg retreat. The greatest depth of German advance was nearly fifty miles. The Allied line was not broken, and the effort to drive a wedge between the French and English was a failure. Had the Germans succeeded in breaking through they would have rolled the English armies back toward the Channel.

The first effort having been slowed up, the Germans began another offensive further West. They attacked the English between Arras and Ypres. This offensive failed to make an equal advance. On May 28 the Germans swept over the Chemin des Dames and the Aisne river, took Soissons the next day and were not stopped until they had reached the Marne river. They had thus driven two ugly salients into the Allied line, threatening important lines of communication, as well as Paris and the Channel ports. On June 9 an important offensive began between the two salients, but was soon checked by French counter attacks. On June 15 Austria launched an offensive which failed to break down Italian resistance. The Allied resistance was stiffening, and three days after the beginning of a new German offensive to enlarge the Marne salient on July 15, the Allies began the counter offensive which wiped out the Marne salient. This was followed August 9 by a forward movement of the Allies in the Picardy salient. American numbers have given the Allies the initiative.

The Italian disaster and the German offensive in March have had one good result in that the Allied armies are now controlled by one man, General Foch, who is commander of the armies of all the countries fighting, not only in France but also in Italy. What has given Germany a great advantage throughout the entire war, has been the fact that she has held a central position, which has enabled her to shift troops from one front to the other as needed, and because she has consistently followed the plans of her general staff. There has been no waste effort. The Allies have in no sense worked together. Each country has fol-

lowed its own plans, and sought to obtain its immediate ends. Now an Inter-Allied War Council and one supreme commander of all military forces will insure a unity of action that has never before been realized. As a result of this policy, American troops are to be brigaded with French and English troops, so that they may more quickly gain military experience. American men and resources have counter-balanced the gain of the Central Powers resulting from the elimination of Russia.

In conclusion it may be said, that although Germany has been fighting a great many countries, she has had the advantage of fighting them in stages. She had expected to be able to defeat France and then Russia. France and Russia bore the brunt of the fighting until England could raise, train, and provide for a large army. The elimination of Russia now places Germany and Austria with their other allies on an equality of strength with France, England, and Italy. In the meantime, the United States is going through the slow stages that delayed England's full participation in the war. Because Germany is still as strong as the Allied forces, it is of supreme importance that America make her strength felt as soon as possible. America must and will give the Allies the increased strength needed to win a final victory.

CHAPTER VII

HOW THE UNITED STATES ENTERED THE WAR

American Neutrality

If ever a nation went to war calmly, deliberately, and after careful consideration of the evidence, America is that nation. For three and a half years we struggled to preserve our neutrality, and when at last the enlightened public opinion of this great Republic decided to enter the war, Germany was convicted by the greatest court, which ever sat in judgment upon another nation.

The American people were long confused by the various claims advanced by different governments. Foreign-born and foreign-descended citizens quite naturally sided with the countries from which they had sprung. What was more natural in the early days of our neutrality? There unfortunately existed an unfriendly attitude toward England, for although we have forgotten the Civil War, textbooks in American history continue to misrepresent the American Revolution. On the other hand, we had great admiration and respect for Germany. France quickly enlisted our sympathy, and we recalled the aid of Lafayette to our struggling country. Our interest was aroused by the struggle of the French people to preserve their civilization from a ruthless invader. But as we favored one side or the other and for different reasons, we had no thought of entering the war.

It was to such a confused national state of mind that President Wilson issued his proclamation of neutrality. "Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality, which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness, and friendliness to all concerned." Such openmindedness was further advised so that we might play the role of mediator between the warring nations at the close of the conflict. President Wilson's early speeches made much of this possibility.

Neutrality seemed to be in complete accord with our history.

In the days when our nation was weak, it had necessarily avoided being drawn into European affairs. As our republic grew stronger, it had formulated the Monroe Doctrine. It pledged itself to defend the American continents from European aggression, but in doing so it was made clear that the United States would not intervene in the policies of the Old World. We assumed no responsibility for our participation in the Algeiras Conference in 1906. America, through her representatives, agreed to observe the rules of The Hague Conventions, but it was specifically stated that she was not bound to enforce their observance upon other states. Consistently the United States had held itself aloof from everything which was not strictly American.

Likewise we were a nation that had desired to promote the peace of the world. America had taken an active part in the efforts to establish an International Court of Arbitration. We further emphasized our sincerity in this action by concluding arbitration treaties with some thirty different countries, by which all disputes with such peoples were to be settled by peaceful investigation and discussion, rather than by war.

Certainly, the United States was not to be easily persuaded that what seemed to be a European war demanded our participation. Nevertheless, there was one phase of national interest which was immediately affected by the war. We had a great commerce, and had always stood for the freedom of the seas. In 1909, we had been actively interested in the drawing up of the declaration of London, which was an effort to draw up an international code of law governing the use of the seas. Although Sir Edward Grey had called the Conference, the English Parliament refused to ratify what it had formulated, because Germany would not agree to a similar limitation of land powers. This belief in the freedom of the seas has been a principle which America has consistently advocated, and disregard of our rights as we conceived them was sure to call forth our protest.

The British government sought to put restrictions on trade with Germany. A blockade is legal. Great Britain had recognized the legitimacy of the blockade of the South during the

Civil War. England did not immediately declare a blockade, and our trade was subjected to annoying restrictions. An effort was made to get England to agree to the Declaration of London, but this she could not do, for she felt that she must turn her navy to its greatest possible use against Germany. Considerable irritation was produced by British interference with what we regarded as our rights, but in all these controversies, there was no question of destruction or loss of property. England was ready to give compensation for all losses to trade, and furthermore by the terms of the arbitration treaty between the two nations, all matters were sure to be ultimately adjusted. Furthermore, today as a belligerent we are co-operating in all measures to which we formerly objected as a neutral.

Our dispute with Germany concerning the freedom of the seas was of a more serious nature. Germany objected to the sale of munitions to the Allies by American firms. This she could not do legally or consistently, because it had always been her own practice to sell munitions to peoples at war when she was neutral. Every neutral has that right, otherwise the result of a war would depend upon the store of cannon and munitions which a nation could accumulate and not upon what it had the wealth to purchase. Germany sunk ships and justified such action by saying that they were carrying munitions to her enemies. This was a violation of our rights on the seas, unless Germany could establish an effective blockade.

Germany sought to establish such a blockade of the Allied countries. On February 4, 1915, the German Government decreed that there should exist a war zone in which submarines would operate. Her blockade necessarily had to be made effective by the use of the submarine. International law did not provide for the submarine, which introduced entirely new questions. The submarine necessarily must destroy the ship it attacks. It cannot apply the principle of "visit and search" to determine whether or not the ship it holds up carries contraband goods or has a forbidden destination. It cannot place the occupants of the ship in a place of safety before destroying it. Thus the submarine blockade meant a loss of life, a consequence which had not followed in previous blockades. Germany argued that the sub-

marine was a new element that international law must consider, and as usual she pled the law of necessity.

The American Government did not cease to protest against the sinking of merchant ships by submarines. It contended that Americans had the right to travel on the high seas and that Germany had no right to forbid them, or to place them in danger or even kill them for exercising their right. In the second note President Wilson said, "the Government of the United States is contending for something much greater than mere rights of property, or privileges of commerce. It is contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity."

A crisis came with the sinking of the *Sussex* with Americans on board, March 26, 1916. At first the German Government sought to evade the issue by pretending that it had sunk another ship than the *Sussex*. Secretary Lansing finally made this statement: "Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare, against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether." On May 4, 1916, the German Government agreed not to sink vessels "without warning, and without saving human lives unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance." However, she added this condition, namely, that the United States should demand that England observe the rules of international law as these had been recognized before the war. The United States refused to admit that respect for the rights of American citizens by Germany should depend upon the conduct of other nations.

The submarine question was not the only evidence of bad faith on the part of Germany toward the United States. German agents in this country sought to stir up trouble for us at home and abroad. The least offensive of these was Dr. Dernburg who directed the German propaganda in this country, but left after the storm of indignation which he aroused by defending the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The Austrian Ambassador to the United States, Dr. Dumba, was found guilty of endeavoring to disturb steel and munitions factories. When a letter was seized

in England which made his guilt certain, Austria was asked to recall him.

In April, 1916, detectives in New York raided the offices of Wolf von Igel, who was attached to the German Embassy in this country. They found papers proving the direct connection of the official representatives of the German Government in this country with various plots to destroy merchant ships, to foment rebellion in Ireland, to cause ill feeling against the United States in Mexico, to buy up lecturers and newspapers for the spreading of the German propaganda, to finance a bureau for stirring up labor troubles in munitions plants. Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States, asked the German Government for \$50,000 with which he proposed to influence Congress. Such was the net of intrigue by which the German representatives in America sought to aid their Government by illegal and disrespectful means.

As the war progressed in Europe, sentiment in the United States underwent a change. The violation of Belgian neutrality was a shock, but there were those among us who even claimed that this was legally justifiable. Then came the stories of the atrocities. At first, Americans could not believe that such barbarities could be committed by a civilized people, but as the evidence piled up through the Bryce Report and statements of Americans who came from Belgium, all our doubts were shattered and German methods of waging war were utterly condemned. We came to understand better what Germany stood for and what the consequences of a German victory would mean for the civilized world. We saw that Germany had wanted war and that she had precipitated that struggle in 1914. German militarism and German autocracy were so contrary to American ideals, that America became convinced that the world would one day be too small to contain both.

President Wilson was already engaged in the preparation of a peace note asking the nations at war to define their aims, when Germany proposed peace negotiations with the Allies on December 12, 1916. The tone of this note indicated that Germany wished to dictate peace as a conqueror, and she gave no express conditions which might be discussed. The Allies saw in the

proposal only an effort to throw responsibility for continuing the war upon them.

On December 18, the President sent his note to all the belligerents asking them to define their war aims, and suggested the possibility of forming a future league to enforce peace. The replies received enabled America to judge more clearly the attitude of the two sides. Germany boasted of her strength and refused to openly state her aims. Furthermore, Germany sought to force all neutrals to bring such pressure on the Allies as would end the war. Under a thinly veiled threat that the rights of neutrals would not be respected, warnings came that submarines would be unloosed upon all neutral commerce. On the other hand, the Allied nations sent forth frank replies in which they expressed a willingness to make liberal terms. They were determined to prevent Germany from accomplishing her purpose, but they were not fighting for conquest; rather they sought to obtain conditions which would establish permanent peace.

On January 22, 1917, President Wilson outlined to the Senate the kind of peace that the United States could join in guaranteeing. "I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and the powerful." "Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it."

Once this position was reached and we felt that America ought to lend her strength to the enforcement of future peace, the next logical step was to consider why it was not our duty to join the Allies who were fighting to obtain such a permanent peace. Did not the Allies constitute a league to enforce peace? They substantially agreed to the ideas of President Wilson. The

American people were very close to participation in the war when they saw the situation in this light.

During the last week in December, 1916, a note came into the possession of the State Department which had been written by Dr. Zimmermann, the German Secretary of State, to the German Minister in Mexico. It proposed an alliance between Germany and Mexico. Germany was to furnish Mexico with funds if Mexico would go to war with the United States. Mexico would receive Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas as her reward. The President of Mexico was to be urged to suggest to Japan that she join Mexico in fighting the United States. The note further said that Germany was prepared to bring England to her knees by ruthless submarine warfare.

On January 31, 1917, the German Government officially notified the United States that "from February 1, sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice." The German Chancellor stated that the only reason such a step had not been taken earlier was because Germany was not ready. Germany thus repudiated the Sussex pledge and further indicated that she had never intended to keep it. "In brief, under the guise of friendship and the cloak of false promises, it [the German Government] had been preparing this attack."

All efforts at negotiation had failed. We had either to back down on what we had said concerning submarine warfare, or to prepare to support words with deeds. The German Ambassador was dismissed on February 3. This severing of diplomatic relations did not mean war. On the same day President Wilson addressed Congress. He drew a distinction between the German people and their Government, and said that we were friends of the German people. A policy of armed neutrality was recommended. However, although the majority of both houses favored armed neutrality, action was held up by a small group of men until the regular session of Congress ended on March 4. On March 12 orders were issued for the arming of American vessels.

In the meantime, the Russian revolution occurred. Russia had been the one autocratic government on the Allied side. There was no longer any doubt that the Allies represented liberal, dem-

ocratic principles. At last we could be sure that this was a war for freedom; further neutrality would have been contrary to the entire development of American views concerning the war.

On April 2, 1917, President Wilson, asked Congress to declare war. "The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a warfare against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. . . . There is one choice we can not make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

"The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of nations can make them."

On April 4 the Senate passed the declaration of war by a vote of 32 to 6. On April 6, it passed the House 373 to 50. The declaration reads as follows:

"Whereas, the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire military and naval forces of the United States and the resources of the

Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States."

War was declared on Austria-Hungary December 7, 1917, unanimously by the Senate and with one dissenting vote in the House.

It is now the duty of every American citizen to aid his government by every means in his power.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ISSUES INVOLVED

German Militarism Must Be Crushed

We have now considered the reasons that led the different nations to go to war. Are they still fighting for the same ends for which they entered the war? In general they are, but four years of war and suffering, of alternate success and discouragement, have brought a clearer vision of the fundamental issues than could exist in 1914.

We now know that Germany had long prepared for war. The results of the previous activities of the military class have been clearly revealed. Germany has waged war in a manner which civilized peoples did not believe possible in 1914. Furthermore, we now know the awful consequences of militarism let loose upon unoffending peoples. The world can now have no doubt of the consequences of German victory and of what German rule of conquered nations means. Germany has further revealed that conquest is her sole and only aim. She intends to conquer and to hold just as much European territory as her armies can obtain for her. German treatment of Russia and her dictatorial policy since the conclusion of peace with Russia prove that she has no respect for the conquered. She will never respect the rights of other peoples, nor relinquish her hold upon any countries that come under her control, until she has been compelled to do so by the only means that she respects—force. This much has four years of war taught us about Germany. There can be no further disillusionment.

No Hope of Peace from the German People

Without doubt the German people are war weary and desirous of peace. Perhaps there are many in Germany who are beginning to have doubts of their rulers, who brought upon them this war which seems never to end; but we can not find in such surmises any possible sign of German weakness. The military party has not allowed any popular discontent to change its war

aims. The German people have no control of their affairs. They have no legal means of asserting themselves and influencing the policy of the government, and there can be no revolution in Germany until the German armies are beaten and the German militarists are deprived of their power. The only possible revolution that can succeed in Germany is a revolution of the army, and that is not to be hoped for. The German people have doubtless wanted peace, but they hope it will come from the submarine campaign or the next drive. They have been encouraged by one success after another to hope that the Allies would yield. Just now they take comfort in the collapse of Russia and the belief that German armies can force a decision on the western front. They, like their leaders, seek a peace by victory. We must be under no illusions about possible internal troubles in Germany. There is no evidence to support such hopes. The Allies have one task only, and that is to destroy the German army.

Peace That Would Restore Former Boundaries

The time was, and doubtless will be, when the German leaders might accept a peace which would restore the conditions which existed before the war. Such a peace would mean that the awful sacrifices of this war had been in vain. Today Germany dominates Austria, for Austria would have collapsed as Russia did but for the stern control of the Prussian. To leave Austria dependent on Germany would mean that the peace of Europe would be in greater danger in the future than it was in 1914. Belgium and Northern France have been so devastated that it will take a generation to restore their prosperity. It is only just that Germany be made to pay for the ruin that she has so ruthlessly wrought upon the innocent. The present state of Russia would enable Germany to interfere with the efforts of the Russian people to establish for themselves a democratic government. They must be allowed a free hand to work out their own salvation, that the world may have one more great democracy. Furthermore, with Russia in her present demoralized condition, there would no longer be a strong Russian state to act as a check up on German aggression. France has been greatly weakened and

can not recover her former strength for a long time to come. The Balkan situation would be more favorable to Germany with Roumania and Serbia weakened and Bulgaria dominant in Southeastern Europe. Such a peace would only mean that Germany would at once prepare for the next war, which she would start under more favorable circumstances than in 1914.

The Principle of Nationality

There is, further, the necessity of continuing the war until the principle of nationality is definitely recognized. A nation is a people united by common traditions, or a common language, or by common blood, perhaps by economic unity of interests. One of the principles often stated as a war aim of the Allied nations is that all peoples shall have the right to determine for themselves what their future shall be. There can be no surer check placed upon German aggression than the application of this principle.

Belgium was a nation and must be so again. The Polish people have kept their nationality, although German, Austrian, and Russian autocracies have endeavored to destroy it. Finland has claimed that it is a nation and is today separate from Russia; is it free from German domination? The nationalities of the Balkan states are in an uncompleted stage of development. These states must have a free opportunity to work out their own future. Finally, there is the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, which today rules a mixture of races and nationalities. These peoples have been forced together under the rule of a monarchy, and they have no control over their affairs. The rulers of Austria-Hungary have been unable to fuse Czechs, Poles, Ruthenes, Slovenes, Dalmatians, Italians, Croatians, Slovaks, and Roumanians into a nation. In this situation Europe will have further trouble unless these people are given a chance to govern themselves. Until this territory is released from German influence, German ambition to rule other peoples without considering their own wishes and desires is bound to cause Europe trouble.

The Backward Races

There is the further question of what is to be done with the peoples outside of Europe who are now governed by European states. Economic development has led European nations to seek markets for their manufactured products. This has produced rivalry and competition which has often threatened to end in war. Disorder in such territory causes nations to step in to establish order, and the result is a protectorate or a sphere of influence. When a settlement by European colonists is possible, civilization is rapidly established; but if the climate is tropical, the problem of how to deal with backward inhabitants becomes much more difficult to solve. Such races are not ready to be treated as nations; they must be taught and guided until they reach a stage of development that will permit them to solve their own problems. Too often they have been merely exploited for the benefit of the state which controls them. The United States rules the Philippines, but we are seeking to educate the inhabitants so that they may govern themselves in the future. England has recently sent a commission to India to consider the best method of giving Indians some measure of self-government, and England will ultimately deal with India as we intend to deal with the Philippines.

The war has resulted in the releasing of peoples in Western Asia from the domination of the Turks. There has been talk of restoring Palestine to the Jews. What disposition should be made of the other territories which may be left to the determination of the Allied nations? Certainly they ought not to be left under Turkish oppression. Only the best interests of the people involved should be considered.

All the colonies of Germany have been taken from her. Germany has not shown herself to be very successful in dealing with backward peoples. She has not shown that she has the interests of any people that she has ever ruled at heart. Will it be wise to restore these colonies to Germany? Would such restoration be to the interests of the peoples whom she has controlled?

What Allied Victory Will Mean

All such adjustments depend upon how completely the Allies succeed in defeating the Prussian autocracy. It must be remembered that complete victory is now necessary because until the Russian people raise themselves from anarchy, there will no longer be a strong Russian state to act as a check upon German aggression. France has been greatly weakened, and will not recover her former strength for years to come. An incomplete victory would leave Germany relatively stronger than she was in 1914.

The strength of the Allied cause has come more and more to rest on the claim that the Allies fight only for ultimate justice. The United States will most certainly stand for the best treatment of nationalities and backward races. The final arrangements for peace can not be obstructed by the selfish interests of any great nation involved. The issues are too great, too vast, to allow petty desires to prevent the ultimate solution to be anything less than justice to all peoples, great and small. On no other basis can future peace be built.

A League to Enforce Peace

The present war had its origin in the inability of great nations to trust each other. If all possible rivalries and future causes of misunderstanding are removed by the terms of the final peace, much will have been done to prevent war. However, no settlement proposed now can foresee all the difficulties that may arise in the future. It has therefore been proposed that an international league be formed for the preservation of peace.

Such a confederation could have as its organ a representative court, perhaps a representative legislature or congress, to make international laws for the regulation of the relations between nations. But to make its actions effective, there must be an international executive backed by the force of the united strength of the league in order to do police duty among the nations of the world.

President Wilson says: "Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any

alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the great organized major force of mankind." The suffering of this war, the terrible ruin that its conclusion will reveal, will doubtless cause the great nations to form some such organization.

There are many indications that the Allied nations are already establishing the foundations for such a league. The British Empire has proven itself to be a great confederation which is not at all held together by bonds of force. Australians, Canadians, and South Africans voluntarily fight with English and French. The United States has joined them, but is not bound to the Allies by any treaty. The bond between these peoples is not merely that of self-preservation; it is a feeling that they are acting for the best interests of all mankind. The Allies are continually merging all questions of national pride in their common cause. Today there is an Inter-Allied Council, which takes no thought of any national interests, but only of the united interest of all. A French general commands English, American, Portuguese, Italian, and French troops. American troops take their place in the English and French armies to secure better co-operation. National individuality is forgotten in the need for united action. Thus the Allies are already revealing the spirit of an international league.

Conclusion

The struggle in which we are now engaged is a war against war. Every American is fighting that the world may forever know peace, for is not modern warfare too terrible to be tolerated by the civilized world? Germany has praised the moral value of war, but she has shown it to be barbarous, brutal, and destructive beyond all belief. Its horrible waste is too great to be grasped by any single mind. The class of men who started this war, the ideas which caused it, the injustice to peoples in which it had its origin, must be removed. If a united decision can be obtained that no other great war will ever be possible, then this war will not have been fought in vain. The war can

not be permitted to stop until this result has been obtained. So frightful has been the sacrifice of life that anything short of a complete righting of the wrongs which have been done will be a terrible injustice to the millions who have already died. There can be no truce, there can be no righteous termination of this war, until German militarism and German ambitions are completely crushed. Democracy can give no quarter to autoeracy.

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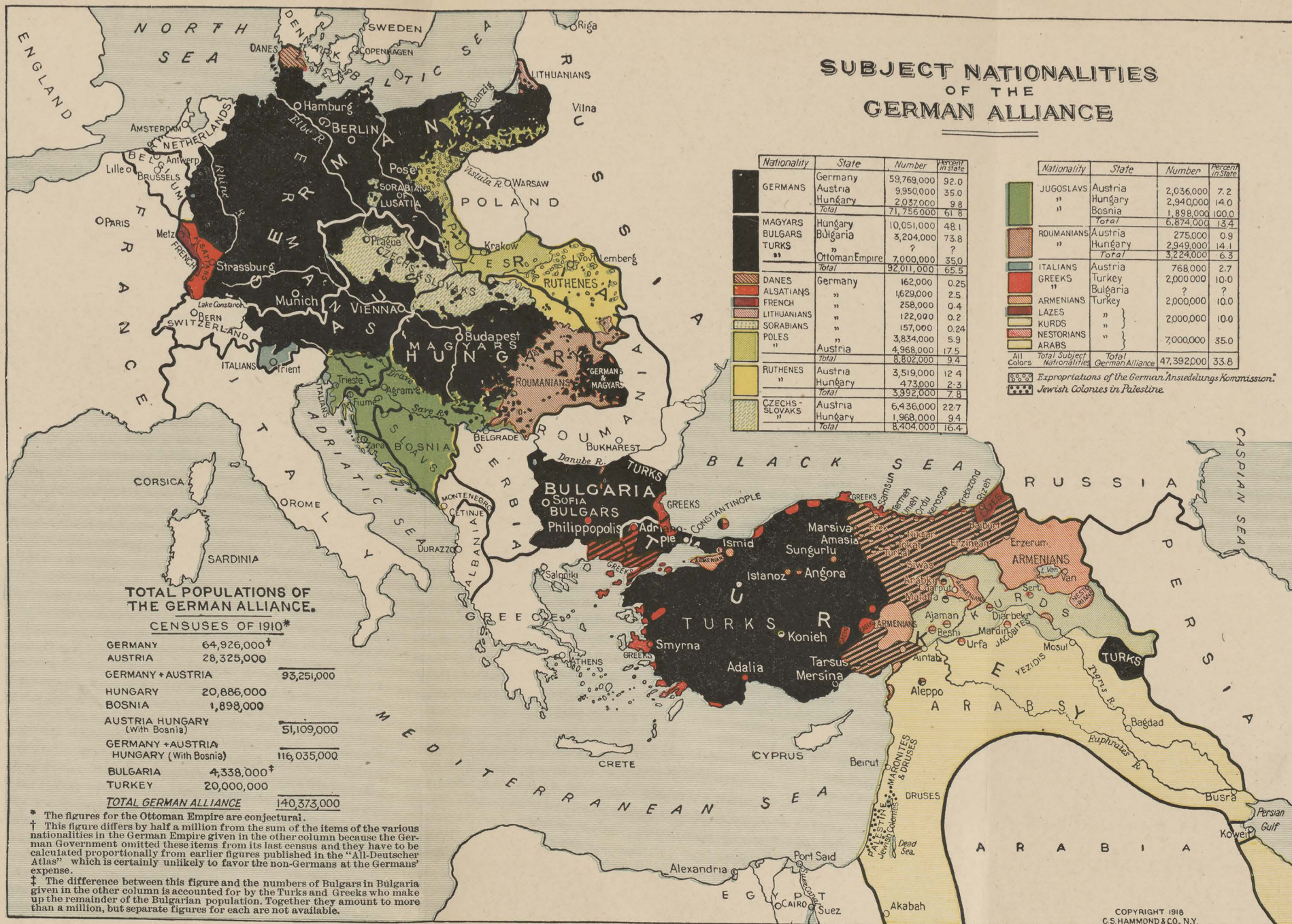
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MAPS

1. The Western Front.
2. Subject Nationalities of the German Alliance.
3. The Pan-German Plan.



SUBJECT NATIONALITIES OF THE GERMAN ALLIANCE

Nationality	State	Number	Percent in State
GERMANS	Germany	59,769,000	92.0
	Austria	9,950,000	35.0
	Hungary	2,037,000	9.8
	Total	71,756,000	61.8
MAGYARS	Hungary	10,051,000	48.1
BULGARS	Bulgaria	3,204,000	73.8
TURKS	Ottoman Empire	7,000,000	35.0
Total		92,011,000	65.5
DANES	Germany	162,000	0.25
ALSATIANS	"	1,629,000	2.5
FRENCH	"	258,000	0.4
LITHUANIANS	"	122,000	0.2
SORABIANS	"	157,000	0.24
POLES	"	3,834,000	5.9
RUTHENES	Austria	4,968,000	17.5
	Hungary	473,000	2.3
	Total	5,441,000	5.8
CZECHS-SLOVAKS	Austria	6,436,000	22.7
	Hungary	1,968,000	9.4
	Total	8,404,000	9.1

Nationality	State	Number	Percent in State
JUGOSLAVS	Austria	2,036,000	7.2
	Hungary	2,940,000	14.0
	Bosnia	1,898,000	100.0
	Total	6,874,000	13.4
ROUMANIANS	Austria	275,000	0.9
	Hungary	2,949,000	14.1
	Total	3,224,000	6.3
ITALIANS	Austria	768,000	2.7
GREEKS	Turkey	2,000,000	10.0
ARMENIANS	Turkey	2,000,000	10.0
LAZES	"	2,000,000	10.0
KURDS	"	2,000,000	10.0
NESTORIANS	"	7,000,000	35.0
ARABS	"	7,000,000	35.0
Total Subject Nationalities		47,392,000	33.8

Expropriations of the German Anstaltungs-Kommission.
Jewish Colonies in Palestine.

TOTAL POPULATIONS OF THE GERMAN ALLIANCE. CENSUSES OF 1910*

GERMANY	64,926,000†
AUSTRIA	28,325,000
GERMANY + AUSTRIA	93,251,000
HUNGARY	20,886,000
BOSNIA	1,898,000
AUSTRIA HUNGARY (With Bosnia)	51,109,000
GERMANY + AUSTRIA HUNGARY (With Bosnia)	116,035,000
BULGARIA	4,338,000‡
TURKEY	20,000,000
TOTAL GERMAN ALLIANCE	140,373,000

* The figures for the Ottoman Empire are conjectural.
† This figure differs by half a million from the sum of the items of the various nationalities in the German Empire given in the other column because the German Government omitted these items from its last census and they have to be calculated proportionally from earlier figures published in the "All-Deutscher Atlas" which is certainly unlikely to favor the non-Germans at the Germans' expense.
‡ The difference between this figure and the numbers of Bulgars in Bulgaria given in the other column is accounted for by the Turks and Greeks who make up the remainder of the Bulgarian population. Together they amount to more than a million, but separate figures for each are not available.

WHY GERMANY WANTS PEACE NOW

THE PANGERMAN PLAN

as realised by War
IN EUROPE AND IN ASIA

- "Central Europe" and its Annexe in the Near East
(Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey)
- The Entente Powers
- Territory occupied by Central Powers
- Territory occupied by Entente Powers
- GERMANY'S MAIN ROUTE TO THE EAST
(Berlin-Bagdad, Berlin-Hodeida, Berlin-Cairo-Cape)
- Supplementary Routes
(Berlin-Trieste, Berlin-Salonica-Athens, Berlin-Constantza-Constantinople)
- Uncompleted sectors

